

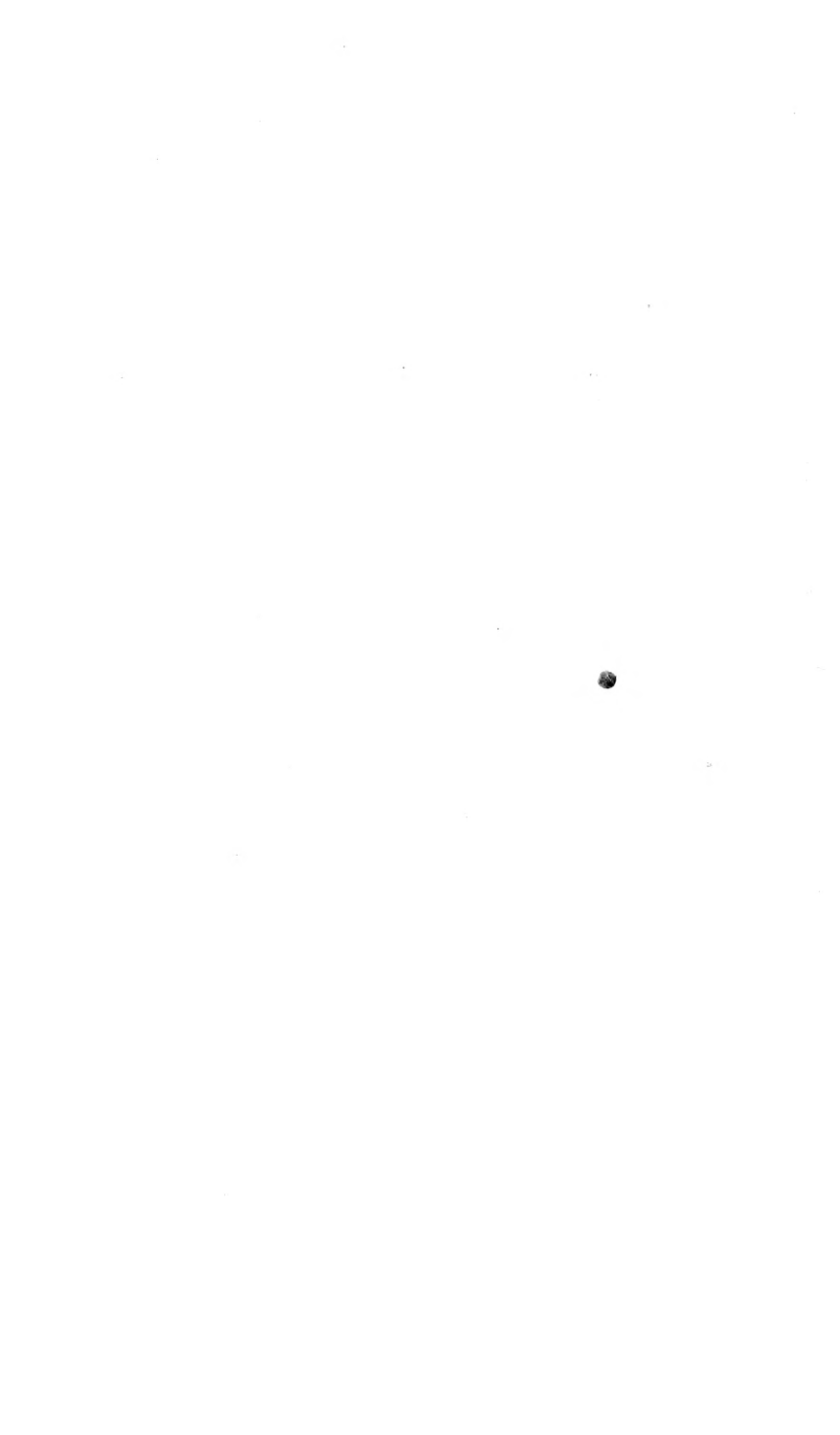


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A
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
CHURCH OF CHRIST;
FROM ITS
I N S T I T U T I O N
TO THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY;
IN WHICH ARE TRACED
THE RISE AND PROGRESS
OF ITS
CORRUPTION AND REFORMATION.

BY THOMAS GAILLARD.

Baltimore:
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.....
1846.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA.—*Be it remembered*, that on this nineteenth day of May, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, THOS. GAILLARD, of said District, hath deposited in this Office the title of a Book, which is in the words following to wit: "*A History of the Church of Christ from its Institution to the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, in which are traced the rise and progress of its corruption and reformation*"—the right whereof he claims as Author, in conformity to the Act, entitled An Act to amend the several acts respecting copy-rights," &c.

JOHN FILLS,
Clerk of Southern District of Alabama.

P R E F A C E .

THE writer of the following pages claims not the credit of originality. The work which he presents to the public can assume no higher title than that of a faithful compilation of facts, drawn from the highest and most respectable authorities. If there be any merit in the labor, it must be found in the novelty of the arrangement in which the work has been composed. The history of the Christian Church has employed the pen of ecclesiastical writers of every age since its first institution ; and he who would now venture to add his contribution to a department in literature already so abundantly supplied with the rich stores of learning and science, must be aware that he assumes a position hazardous in itself, and which exposes him to the suspicion, if not to the direct charge, of presumption. The subject, however, although not a new one, commands at present an increased interest from the peculiar circumstances of the times in which we live. The history of the Church of Christ is the history of Protestantism ; and upon Protestantism are founded our civil and religious liberties. When these are involved in a controversy, the subject becomes of vital importance.

Two systems are arrayed against each other. The arena of the conflict is the moral world. The prize to be won is nothing less than the salvation of the immortal soul. The Christianity of the Bible, and the religion of Papal Rome are the antagonist systems ; and between them there is not, and cannot be, a middle ground of compromise and conciliation. The mystery of iniquity is insidiously at work—"even he, whose coming is after the worship of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish." That there has already commenced a deadly struggle between the powers of the air, and the Church, none can doubt, who has been observant of the unwearied exertions every where made by Popery, to ensnare the unwary, and to increase the number of apostates from the true faith. "Unclean spirits like frogs have come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet. They are the spirits of devils, working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty. Witness the ominous signs in Ireland—the crafty designs and insidious machinations of the Puseyites, and the more bold and untiring efforts to obtain an ascendancy in America. To whatever

section of the world we cast our eyes, we discover this arch enemy of Christ's kingdom secretly or openly laboring to engraft its corrupt system upon the institutions of the country.

"In Ireland," says a distinguished divine of the Episcopal church,¹ "where the theology of Dens is the recognized text-book of the Roman Catholic clergy, they will tell you, when there is any end to be gained, that popery is an improved, and modified, and humanized thing: whereas, all the while, there is not a monstrous doctrine broached in the most barbarous of past times, which this very text-book does not uphold as necessary to be believed, and not a foul practice devised in the midnight of the world, which it does not enjoin as necessary to be done." "In England," says White, "it is the policy of Popery to persuade the world that the authority of the Pope is of so spiritual a nature, as, if strictly reduced to what the creed of the Papal church required, can never interfere with the civil duties of those who own that authority." In the United States, where religious liberty is better understood, and more practically enjoyed, than in any other portion of the globe—the Papists pronounce religious intolerance a detestable dogma. In Spain, where Popery maintains the ascendancy, Protestantism is proscribed—and as recently as the year 1814, the Holy Inquisition was re-established for the punishment of heresy. In South America, governments organized on republican principles, but under the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff—have copied the odious laws of Spain in the restriction of religious privileges.

Such is the character of Popery. By such arts, it has succeeded but too effectually, not only in quieting the alarm of the people of this country, but in clothing itself with attractions which delude and fascinate. It holds out the forbidden fruit, and with the subtlety of the serpent, says—"By tasting ye shall not surely die: but in the day ye eat thereof, your eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." But let not Protestants be deceived by the promise of peace and safety, and receive the Tempter into their bosoms. Popery boasts of its infallibility, and prides itself upon its unchangeableness. "The system is the same—intrinsically, inherently the same. It may assume different aspects to carry out different purposes, but this is itself a part of popery: there is the variable appearance of the chameleon, and the invariable venom of the serpent." (Melvill.)

It was with the view of tracing the rise and progress of a power which, from the humble and unassuming character of a Presbyter of

¹ "Sermons by Henry Melvill."

the Church of Christ, has opposed and exalted itself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, that the following history of the Church was compiled. It may be objected, and with much appearance of correctness, that the Romish church has been noticed as a branch of the Church of Christ, after it had lost every vestige of a Christian institution. This arrangement was unavoidable. That it ceased to be a true and Apostolic Church, at least as early as the middle of the third century, must be conceded by all who will compare its government and rites with the constitution of the church as it proceeded from the hands of the apostles, and as preserved in their inspired writings. From that period the stream diverged from its accustomed channel. The Romish Church, after the conversion of Constantine, lost almost every feature of its original excellence; it had a name that it lived, but was dead. It remembered not from whence it had fallen, nor repented, and did its first works; and Christ, the great head of the Church, removed its candlestick out of his place.

It was then that the Apocalyptic woman, to whom were given two wings of a great eagle, fled into the wilderness, into her place, where she was nourished twelve hundred and sixty years. This was undoubtedly the true Church: and it was against it that the corrupt hierarchy of Rome, or the mystical dragon, has ever since made war. The concession of the title of Christian to the Popish Church was made rather from courtesy to the admissions of a venerated and orthodox branch of the Church of Christ, than from a conviction of the correctness of the application.¹ Ecclesiastical historians have generally acquiesced in its pretensions to this title; and this authority was considered a sufficient sanction for the concession.

The Sacred Scriptures teach us—that there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus; that neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved—that the Gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth; and that the holy scriptures are able to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus—that by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight—that we are justified freely by the grace of God, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ—that Christ by one offering (or sacrifice) hath perfected forever them that are sanctified—nor yet that he should offer himself often: but after he had offered one sacrifice for sins; forever sat down

¹Hooker calls the Church of Rome—"A part of the house of God, a limb of the visible Church of Christ."

on the right hand of God—that we are not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold ; but with the precious blood of Christ—that we beware lest any man spoil us through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ—and that we should let no man beguile us of our reward, in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels—these are the precepts of the Bible.

Popery teaches us—that Christians may do works of supererogation ; or as Bellarmine has said—“ a just man hath, by a double title, right to the same glory ; one by the merits of Christ imparted to him by grace, another by his own merits ”—that sins may be pardoned by money ; or the doctrine of indulgences—that there are other mediators between God and man, besides Jesus Christ, such as saints and angels, and especially the Virgin Mary—that the scriptures do not contain all things necessary to salvation—that the word of God is obscure in some things essential to faith—that in the mass Jesus Christ is offered up by the priest a sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead—that prayers are to be addressed, and worship to be given to saints and angels—that in the Lord’s Supper, the bread and wine, are by consecration, converted into the very body and blood, soul and divinity of Christ. It maintains—that faith is not to be kept with heretics—that heretics should be persecuted and destroyed—that the pope is the supreme head of the church—that God has established in his Church one supreme infallible judge in matters of faith—that the souls of the faithful go to a place called Purgatory, to be cleansed of their sins before they can enter heaven—that the people should not read the Scriptures¹—that the cup should not be given to the laity in the Lord’s Supper—that public prayers should be offered up in a language not understood by the people—that every man must, without further examination, submit his faith to the decisions of the Church. It appoints images and pictures to be set up in places of worship ; and commands the people to bow down before them. It declares the Church of Rome to be the only true Church ; from which if a man separate he cannot be saved.

Such are the tenets of a Church which claims to have been built upon the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone : having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof : ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.

¹John chapter 5th, verse 39th,—“ Search the Scriptures ; for in them ye think ye have eternal life : and they are they which testify of me.” See also Acts, chapter 17th, verse 11th.

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PART I.

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH was the subject, in the divine counsels, of the everlasting covenant of Redemption. God said, in the language of the inspired Psalmist—"I have made a covenant with my chosen; thy seed will I establish for ever, and build up thy throne to all generations. I will make him my first born, higher than the kings of the earth. My covenant shall stand fast with him." The apostle of the Gentiles, in his epistle to the Ephesians, extols the spiritual blessings of God in Christ bestowed upon believers, according as he had chosen them in him before the foundation of the world; and in the epistle to Timothy, he speaks of them as being saved, and called with a holy calling, not according to their works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given them in Christ Jesus before the world began. Upon this covenant of Redemption are founded all the merciful and providential displays of God's love towards his people. According to it he bestows his grace; and from it sprang the gospel of peace. A seed which should prolong his days—or the General Assembly and church of the first-born—was promised to Christ by this covenant as the condition of his propitiatory sacrifice for sin, (*Isaiah liii.*) The existence of this invisible and catholic Church, and the salvation of all believers through the dispensations of grace, are equally embraced by it.

The declaration of God, after the first transgression, that, "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head," was the first revelation to the inhabitants of this world, of the plan of redemption. This was announced before the tenants of Paradise were expelled from the garden, and the flaming sword of the cherubim displayed for preserving the tree of life.

When "men began to call upon the name of the Lord,"¹ a visible church of Christ, or an Assembly of true Believers, was established on earth. This was in the life-time of the first progenitors of the human race.

¹Genesis iv. 26. In the marginal reference—"To call themselves by the name of the Lord."

That acts of worship had been previously performed, is expressly stated in the case of Abel, who, by faith offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain. This sacrifice was doubtless expiatory, as a means of propitiating the divine favor, and prefigurative or typical of that great atoning sacrifice which would make reconciliation for iniquity, and bring in everlasting righteousness. It was therefore, truly founded on the promise after the fall. "It was expressive of a sense of guilt, of the necessity of an atonement, of submission to this vicarious mode of expiation, and of faith in the promised Mediator." Thus simultaneously with the sentence of condemnation for man's first act of disobedience, was the revelation of a provision for pardon and salvation, through the atoning sacrifice of the lamb slain from the foundation of the world. And it may be here remarked, that this principle of intercession between the supreme Being and the fallen race of man, has accordingly prevailed throughout all ages, and in all nations, however degraded in heathenism and ignorance.

Although the wickedness of man was great before the general destruction by the deluge, our confidence in the faithfulness of God assures us, that he left not himself without a witness throughout this period of degeneracy and vice. There were doubtless at all times sincere worshippers who preserved true religion and piety in the world, and who are called in Scripture, "The sons of God." (*Genesis vi. 2.*) We are informed, that Enoch was translated, having this testimony that he pleased God, and, that Noah, a preacher of righteousness, became heir of the righteousness which is by faith. Such is the brief history of the visible Church of Christ before the flood.

Noah, when he left the ark, built an altar, and offered burnt offerings of every clean beast and of every clean fowl; and God accepted the sacrifice, established with him a covenant of mercy, and blessed him. From this remnant of the descendants of Adam was transmitted the knowledge of God, the traditionary history of the Antediluvians, and of the general destruction of the human race. To this point, as to a centre, may be traced back, the superstitious observances of nations dispersed over the remotest regions of the globe. Their several forms of worship derived from a pure original, became in the course of time, corrupted by an admixture with rites and ceremonies founded upon the fears and ignorance of those, who, unassisted by the light of divine revelation, had lost all knowledge of the religion preserved under the Providence of God, in the family of their common ancestor.

Notwithstanding the general corruption which prevailed among mankind for many ages after the confusion of their language, and their dispersion from the plains of Shinar, there is no doubt, that the knowledge of God was preserved; and that the fear of his just judgment restrained the wickedness of men. Pharaoh acknowl-

edged the visitation of God upon his family for the violence offered to the person of Sarai. Abimelech, king of Gerar, of the Philistines, entreated God to withhold his judgments against him and his people for a similar offense. Lot, whom the inspired writer calls just and righteous, was rescued from the calamity which befell the cities of the Plain. Abimelech, another of the kings of a country devoted to destruction for the iniquities of its inhabitants, proposed to Isaac a covenant of peace, declaring that he saw certainly that the Lord was with him. Job—who dwelt in the Ausitis, on the confines of Idumea and Arabia, and was contemporary with Moses—and his friends who visited him in his afflictions, were evidently the true worshippers of God. Balaam, of the city of Pethor, on the Euphrates, called the Lord his God. He lived, A. M. 2550. Ancient history presents other instances, at subsequent periods, of a knowledge of the supreme Being retained in the midst of an almost universal prevalence of idolatrous worship. Through the posterity of Shem, from whom proceeded the Messiah, the purest system of worship was transmitted; whilst the descendants of Ham, early lost all traces of the rites instituted for appeasing the anger of the Deity and securing his blessing.

But God entered into a covenant relation with Abraham, by which his descendants became the depositaries of divine truth. His immediate ancestors had been idolaters, and were worshippers of the Teraphims, which are supposed to have been figures intended for types or representations of the ark. These idols are still known among some of the eastern nations of Telefing, and are superstitiously revered as possessing an occult power to avert evils both of a moral and physical nature.

God declared, that in him all the nations of the earth should be blessed. Through him the promises announced in the garden of Eden were to be fulfilled. In his family was instituted the Church of Christ; and a visible church relationship was formally established between them and its spiritual Head. The rite of circumcision was ordained as a distinguishing mark or seal of initiation. “Two purposes were to be answered by this—the preservation of the true doctrine of salvation, which is the great and solemn duty of every branch of the Church of God—and, the manifestation of that truth to others.” They were thus set apart as a peculiar people, intrusted with the preservation and propagation of the divine oracles.

About 500 years after the call of Abraham, the covenant was renewed at Sinai with his descendants, and the law promulgated. “The great moral code, which is binding on all mankind, at all times, and under all circumstances, and the specific enactments which are only so many expressions of that love to God and man, which is essential to the well-being of creation, was laid as the basis of this constitution, and on this account it is frequently called

the Law. Regular forms of divine worship were appointed. A regular priesthood was separated for its performance. These all had a prospective or prefigurative reference to a future and superior dispensation; or the second and new covenant, which was instituted by the Lord Jesus Christ." The former is therefore, known as the covenant of works, and the latter as the covenant of grace. The former was a republication of the covenant made with Adam before the fall, which was violated by his disobedience. The latter was the consummation of the great covenant of Redemption, sealed and forever perfected by that sacrifice on the cross, of which the burnt offerings and sacrifices which preceded it, were but the types and shadows. The Israelites in the wilderness are said to have drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them; and that Rock was Christ. (1 Cor. x. 4.)

Under the former, the Church is spoken of by inspired writers, as Mount Zion. Hence the Psalmist rapturously declares it to be, "The joy of the whole earth"—and Isaiah prophetically announces, that "The Redeemer shall come to Zion."

As the period of the nativity of Jesus Christ approached, a most remarkable coincidence of events, under the guidance of divine Providence, prepared the world for his advent. That all nations expected at the time the appearance of some extraordinary personage, is a fact known to those conversant with the historical records of that period. Such an impression among the heathens who had not been in frequent intercourse with the Jewish people, and therefore unacquainted with their sacred writings, must have been derived from traditions of the remotest antiquity founded upon the promises to the fathers. Through this channel only, could a knowledge of the mysterious dispensations of God in the provisions of grace and salvation have been obtained. The Patriarchs, with the eye of faith, had looked forward through the long vista of time to the consummation of these cheering promises. The prophets of Israel had foretold the future glory of the church, when the Gentiles should come to its light, and kings to the brightness of its rising.

Balaam, a diviner of Mesopotamia, 1450 years before the event, had prophesied, that, "There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel;" and immediately after the nativity, wise men from the distant East went to Jerusalem, with treasures of gold, and frankincense and myrrh, inquiring, "Where is He that is born king of the Jews, for we have seen his star in the East, and are come to worship Him."

About three hundred years before the birth of Christ, the conquests of Alexander the Great, had disseminated a knowledge of the Greek language among the nations who were subdued by the power of his arms. Through this channel, Grecian literature was diffused over a large portion of the East. The Hebrew language

was not then spoken in its original purity by the Jewish people. The Macedonic—Alexandrine dialect was the vernacular of the colonies planted in Alexandria and the neighboring provinces by Alexander. The translation of the sacred writings into this tongue,¹ by Jewish interpreters, for their public worship in the synagogues, communicated a knowledge of the Scriptures to the surrounding nations, and prepared them for the reception of the gospel, and facilitated the propagation of the christian doctrines throughout the East.

In the West, the wonderful Providence of God in providing for the extension of the Church of Christ, was equally displayed in the progress of events. The Roman Republic was advancing onward in its career of universal dominion, and the epoch was approaching, when the splendor of its conquests would be surpassed only by its achievements in the arts and the peaceful triumphs of refinement and literature. The Augustan age arrived—and the historian recorded the greatness and grandeur of the empire, whilst the poet immortalized its munificence and its generous patronage of the Muses. At the close of the 40th century Rome had become the mistress of the world. Its distant provinces were reduced to subjection; peace was established throughout its widely extended domain, and the Temple of Janus closed. The calmness and serenity of the dawn seemed about to usher in a new day of life, giving light and effulgence, such as had never before beamed upon a darkened and benighted world. The Poet of Mantua, in strains glowing with the fervor of inspiration, announced the arrival of the last age, predicted by the Cumæan Sibyl,—the beginning of the great series of revolving years. “Now a new progeny from high heaven descends. By whom first the Iron Age shall cease, and the Golden Age over all the world arise. This glory of our age shall make his entrance; and the great months begin to roll. He shall partake of the life of gods; and rule the peaceful world with his Father’s virtues. The Destinies, harmonious in the established order of the Fates, sang to their spindles—‘Ye so happy ages, run, haste forward to the birth.’ Bright offspring of the gods, illustrious progeny of Jove, set forward on thy way to signal honors. The time is now at hand!”

The Jewish nation had been reduced to the condition of a Roman province; and by their own computations, founded on their sacred records, an opinion generally prevailed that at that time there would appear a prince and savior who would not only restore the ancient government in Judea, but that he would obtain the empire of the world. This expectation excited them to a rebellion against the Roman authority, and precipitated their destruction. False prophets arose in succession who persuaded the people that

¹ The Septuagint; the supposed work of seventy-two interpreters in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

the period of their national greatness had arrived; and this delusion prevailed, until the city of Jerusalem and the Temple itself, were laid in ruins by the Roman army.

Tacitus, who witnessed the calamities which befell the Jews, from their obstinate resistance of the besieging forces under Titus, and the cruelties which they mutually inflicted upon themselves, records the general persuasion, drawn from the ancient writings of the priests, "That some who should come out of Judea would obtain the empire of the world." Suetonius, who flourished in the beginning of the second century, states that, "For a long time a constant persuasion had prevailed all over the East, (*Oriente toto constans opinio*,) some who should come out of Judea would obtain universal dominion; as recorded in the Books of the Fates." The same writer refers to another ancient prediction—if the uninspired effusions of an excited fancy can be received as such—previous to the advent of the Messiah, "That *nature* was about to bring forth a son who would be king of the Romans." "Here *nature* itself," remarks the learned Prideaux, "that is, the God of nature, is made the immediate cause of the birth; and he, must be more than an ordinary person who was to be produced by so extraordinary a generation."

It was in expectation of a forth-coming Redeemer, that Simeon, in faith, waited for the consolation of Israel. When he received the child, Jesus, in his arms, he exclaimed, "Lord, let now thy servant depart in peace; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people: a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel." It was under the expectation that Jesus, when he rode into Jerusalem, would proclaim himself the Deliverer and King of the Jewish nation, that multitudes spread their garments in the way, others cut down branches from the trees and strewed them in the way, and those who went before and followed cried, "Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest!" The woman of Samaria expressed the strength of her belief in the advent of the Messiah, and in the divinity of his person, by declaring, that when he came, he would tell them all things. Andrew communicated to Peter the intelligence, that he had found the Messiah; which is, being interpreted, the Christ. After the crucifixion, some of the disciples declared that they had cherished the hope—"It had been he, who should have redeemed Israel."

With these concurring circumstances, the rejection of Christ by the Jewish nation is a standing monument of the first judgment of God in giving them over to blindness of mind and obduracy of heart. For two thousand years they had been depositaries of the sacred oracles of truth; they had been made a peculiar people;

distinguished from all other nations as the marked objects of God's especial favor and directing providence.

Josephus admits that the prophecies of a coming Messiah were recorded in the holy books of the inspired writers, but the event not having corresponded with his own interpretation, he pronounces those prophecies dark and ambiguous oracles; and with a singular inconsistency, having conceded that the predictions point "to one of his own nation," concludes by affirming, that, "In truth Vespasian's empire was designed; for he was created emperor of Rome in Judea." Thus did he substitute a Roman of mean birth, an idolater, and an enemy of the Jewish people, for Him who was emphatically predicted of, as a descendant of the royal family or house of David; who would restore the worship of the true God, and be a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of the people of Israel.

The fullness of time having arrived, when the promises of God, that he would make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, were to be fully accomplished, when the prophecies of a coming Messiah, who would assume our nature, and appear in the likeness of sinful flesh, must all be literally and circumstantially fulfilled; when Jesus Christ should present himself as the Mediator of the New Testament, that by means of death, for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first Testament, they which are called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance—an angel, commissioned from the throne of heaven, announced to shepherds near the town of Bethlehem in Judea, the good tidings of great joy—that in the city of David there was that day born, a Savior, which is Christ the Lord. This annunciation was immediately confirmed by a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, good will toward men.

The Evangelists have related but few circumstances of the early life of our Savior; and it would be at least an unprofitable labor to search the writings of uninspired authors who have presumed to inscribe their own vague conjectures on the subject, or to transmit the doubtful and often superstitious traditions they have received from others.

In the 13th year of his age, he appeared in the Temple, and disputed with the Jewish doctors—propounding and answering questions—and all who heard him were astonished at his understanding. What were the subjects of discussion has not been revealed to us, and we are permitted to conjecture from his own declaration, that he then advanced those divine doctrines, which he afterward enforced by his wisdom and the miraculous exhibitions of his power. But in this event, which seems to have been incidentally alluded to by the inspired writer, we have the fulfilment of a prophecy made 1700 years before its accomplishment. It was

predicted by the Patriarch Jacob, that, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be;" or, as it is rendered in the Septuagint version, "Until the coming of him to whom it is reserved." About this time, Archelaus, (son of Herod the Great,) the king of Judea, was banished by Augustus Cæsar to Vienne in Gaul, and Judea became a part of the province of Syria. The prophet had also said, "The desire of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory." "The glory of this latter house (the second temple) shall be greater than of the former," (*Haggai*.) "He, in whom 'all the nations of the earth were to be blessed,' and of whose coming a general expectation would prevail; He would come, and his presence, who is 'the glory of the Lord' and the true temple, 'in whom all the fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily,' would fill that house with glory, and render it far more glorious than the Shecinah (or visible glory,) rendered Solomon's temple."¹

In the 26th year of our Christian era, the ministry of John the Baptist commenced. This, says the Evangelist, was the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, (*Mark*,) and our Savior afterwards declared, that, "The law and the prophets were until John; since that time the Kingdom of God is preached." It was then that the sixty-nine weeks mentioned in the prophecy of Daniel expired—"Know therefore, and understand, that, from the going forth of the commandment to restore, and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah, the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and three score and two weeks," or sixty-nine weeks. The commandment to restore, and to build Jerusalem, was given by Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, in the seventh year of his reign. It was directed to Ezra, who by this commission was empowered to return to Jerusalem, and to restore the Church and state of the Jews.²

John, at the expiration of about three years and a half from the commencement of his ministry, was imprisoned and beheaded; and then came Jesus into Galilee preaching the gospel of the Kingdom of God. This is the Kingdom which Daniel had foretold, the God of heaven would set up, which shall never be destroyed.—That Dominion and Glory and Kingdom, to be given to One like the son of man; that all people, nations and languages should serve him. This was the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, which smote the image, and became itself a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. This was the CHURCH OF CHRIST, against which the gates of hell would never prevail.

Jesus Christ, having laid the foundation of his church by preaching and by miracles, selected twelve of his disciples, whom he

¹ Scott's Commentaries.

² Prideaux's Connection.

called Apostles. These he sent out to preach the Gospel; giving them power and authority over devils, and to heal diseases, that the authenticity of their mission might be recognized and acknowledged by all men.

The hopes and the enmity of the Jews were alternately excited; as they flattered themselves that he had come to restore again the kingdom of Israel, or were offended by his condemnation of their hypocrisy and unbelief, and the purity of his doctrines. His most inveterate enemies were the Pharisees and the Sadducees.

The origin of these sects may be referred to a period immediately succeeding the Babylonish captivity. Two parties arose, differing in their construction of the moral law. One of them insisted upon a strict observance of the precepts of the written word alone, and that by this obedience they fulfilled all righteousness.—These were afterwards known as Sadducees. The other, to this written code, added the tradition of the Elders, and superadded many rigorous observances, which they distinguished as works of merit, and by which they believed they secured to themselves, the praise of men, and the favor of God. These works of supererogation, procured for them a fund of merit, which imparted a superior excellence unattainable by an obedience of the written law only, and elevated them above all others. These were the doctrines at a later period of the sect of the Pharisees.

At the time of our Savior's appearance on earth, the Sadducees maintained that there was no resurrection of the dead. They denied all spiritual existences, except God: and consequently did not believe in future rewards and punishments. They acknowledged the authority of the Pentateuch only. They extended the doctrine of free-agency to the exclusion of the Deity from any control over the thoughts and actions of men.

The Pharisees believed in the existence of the soul, and in the resurrection. Josephus has charged them with maintaining the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul from one body, after death, into another. It has been questioned however, with good reason, whether, as a sect, they were the disciples of the Pythagorean school of Philosophy. Nothing is alleged against them on this ground in the Scripture of the New Testament, notwithstanding the unsparing denunciations against them by our Savior. In the Acts of the Apostles it is said, "The Sadducees say there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit; but the Pharisees confess both."

The question proposed by the disciples to Christ, "Master, who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" must have been founded, either upon a belief in this doctrine of transmigration, or, on the opinion of a pre-existing state of the soul, of which there is no consciousness after its reunion with the body; and of its accountability in this mysterious and incomprehensible state

of pre-existence, by which it is amenable when united with the body, and hence, the infliction of sorrows and pains, render the dispensations of Providence, on those who are yet incapable from immaturity of age of committing sin. Upon this principle some of the ancient philosophers have accounted for the unequal distribution of blessings in this life.

It was believed by some of the Jews, that Christ was John the Baptist; by others, Elias, Jeremias, or one of the prophets. Herod, himself, appears to have been perplexed on the subject.

The doctrine of the resurrection was an article of faith among the Jews, from the remotest period in their history. It was, no doubt, a revealed truth. Job expressly declares it. In the Book of Psalms, in Isaiah, Ezekiel, and in the Maccabees, it is plainly taught. It was, no doubt, a fundamental doctrine of faith from Abraham to Christ, with the exception of the small sect of the Sadducees. When Christ assured Martha that Lazarus would rise again, she replied, "I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day," which implied a belief in the resurrection of the body as well as the soul, and of which, from the simplicity and readiness of her answer, she seemed to have entertained no doubt. Job declares his confidence, that, although worms shall destroy his body, in his flesh he would see God. Ezekiel's vision of the bones restored to life, with flesh and skin, by the breath of the spirit, was but a figurative annunciation of a general resurrection. The Athenians, however, with all their refined theories and metaphysical reasoning, were unable to comprehend the doctrine when Paul boldly preached it on Mars' Hill, "for some of them mocked, and others said, we will hear thee again of this matter."

The Pharisees believed, that, fastings, almsgiving, ablutions, confessions, and mortifications of the flesh, sufficiently atoned for sin. They received the traditions of the Elders as of equal authority with the written law. In all these, with their idea of meritorious works of supererogation, and the concealment of the most abominable vices under the cloak of extraordinary sanctity, they prefigured, with most remarkable exactness and truth, the Popish clergy of more modern date.

The Scribes mentioned in Scripture, were not a distinct sect.—The title was generally applied to those engaged in literary pursuits. They were also called doctors of the law, and were, for the most part, Pharisees in doctrines; and therefore, the denunciations of the Savior were directed to them as equally under the same sentence of condemnation. Scribe and lawyer were used as convertible terms.

The Herodians were of recent origin in our Savior's time. They differed from the Pharisees in their willingness to submit to the Roman government. They combined, however, when they designed to entrap Christ by the question, whether it was lawful to

pay tribute to Cæsar, or not? A direct reply, either in the affirmative or negative, would have given to one of the parties a ground of accusation against him. This sect maintained, that, idolatrous practices in religion were excusable with those coerced by superior authority. Herod, who was its founder, acted according to this principle from political motives. He was all things to all men, that he might deceive all. Their whole system was one of duplicity and cunning; jesuitical in its conception, and papal in its practice. It was probably against this prominent characteristic of the Herodians that the disciples were warned, when Christ told them to beware of the leaven of Herod. They were, by way of reproach, called half-Jews, professing the Jewish religion, but conforming, when policy justified their apostacy, with the idolatrous worship of the heathens. In the narrations of the same occurrence, Matthew mentions the leaven of the Pharisees, and of the Sadducees; but Mark, the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod. From which we must infer, that the doctrines of the Sadducees and of the Herodians, were either the same, or equally offensive to Christ.

Notwithstanding the lessons of humility and of self-denial which the Savior frequently impressed upon his apostles and which were exemplified in his own person throughout his ministry; a spirit of ambition, and an aspiring after supremacy in rank, excited expectations and hopes which they could neither suppress nor conceal from his observation. They reasoned among themselves who should be greatest in his kingdom; and James and John petitioned that they might be exalted to seats on his right hand and on his left.—His reply was, “Whosoever of you will be the chiefest (*protos*, first) shall be servant (*doulos*, slave) of all.” This controversy was renewed at the last Passover, after the administration of the sacrament, and when his ministry on earth was closed. Assuredly, at such a time and on that solemn occasion, when he knew that his hour was come, and that he would soon be delivered up to be crucified, he would not have omitted, had he designed it, to confer on Peter, that supreme apostolic authority which has been claimed for him by those who have assumed to be his successors in office. “But he said unto them, He that is greatest among you let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.” But what should have humbled the aspirations of Peter, had he cherished a belief of any superior excellence in himself, had he advanced any pretensions to a claim of infallibility, and what must have weakened the confidence of the other apostles, had they been disposed to acknowledge in him a priority of rank—Christ immediately warns him of the temptation which awaited him, and to make his mortification the greater, tells him, that, in the hour of trial he would deny him as his Lord and Master. Why was Peter thus selected and exposed to a temptation which Christ foresaw

would overcome him, and overwhelm him with confusion and shame? It was to Peter that on a previous occasion he addressed this severe rebuke, "Get thee behind me, Satan, for thou savorest not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men." It was Peter, whom, at another time, he charged with doubting, and with having little faith. Peter thrice denied him at the judgment seat of Pilate, saying, "I know not the man;" and confirmed his denial by oaths and curses.

But we have not the shadow of evidence in the Scriptures, of any peculiar powers having been conceded to Peter by the apostles; nor does it any where appear that he assumed to himself the exercise of prerogatives appertaining to the apostolic office, not common to them all. In his Epistle, he styles himself *a fellow Presbyter*,¹ and forbids those who had the oversight of the churches to lord it over God's heritage. Although ardent in his temperament, and hasty in his resolves, which were the characteristics of the Galileans, he was patient under rebuke, and prompt to apologize whenever his warmth of feeling may have led him into indiscretions. He was an humble and sincere follower of Christ, and a fearless and zealous preacher of the Gospel. His labors and perils in the propagation of the truth, were not surpassed by those of any other of the apostles.

When Jesus had removed from their minds whatever ideas they may have entertained of a distinction of rank among themselves, or of a right of pre-eminence in one above another, he addressed them all in the following words: "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven."

After his resurrection he appeared among his disciples, and breathing on them, said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained." "He afterward appeared unto the eleven, as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not on them which had seen him after he was risen." And he said unto them, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." "So then, after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God."

In the 33d year of our Christian era, and in the 37th year after the nativity of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, the seventy weeks of Daniel expired. If then, we calculate from this year back, 490 years, we shall be carried to the very year when Ezra was commissioned by Artaxerxes Longimanus, to return to Jerusalem, and to restore and to build the city.

¹ 1 Peter v. 1, 2, 3.

In the 9th chapter of the Book of Daniel, it is written, "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy Holy City, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring into everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and the prophecy, and to anoint Most Holy."

There are three periods referred to in this chapter of Daniel. The first, comprising seven weeks or 49 years, relates to the rebuilding of the city and the Temple, and thereby the restoring of the Church. These were accomplished by Ezra and Nehemiah. And here closed the Scripture of the Old Testament. The second period extends from the termination of those seven weeks to the beginning of the last or seventieth, and embraces sixty-two weeks, or 434 years. And here closed properly the covenant of works, or the Dispensation under the Law, and in the beginning of the seventieth week began the covenant of Grace. "The law and the prophets were until John, since that time the Kingdom of God is preached." At this exact period of time, or in the beginning of the seventieth week, John the Baptist commenced his ministry—preaching the Baptism of Repentance for the remission of sins—saying, "There cometh One mightier than I, after me, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose." "This," says the Evangelist, Mark, was the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." The third period, or one week, closed when Christ's ministry on earth was terminated by his crucifixion and death.¹

The prophecy declares, that, the Messiah shall be cut off, but not for himself; and the people of the Prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary. After the confirmation of the covenant, the sacrifice and the oblation would cease.

By the great sacrifice then made in his own person on the cross, reconciliation for iniquity was secured, and this being done, once for all, there was needed no other sacrifice for sin, the burnt offerings and oblations under the former dispensation having been but prefigurations and types of this.

In the 70th year of the Christian era, the destruction of the city and the Temple by the Romans, fulfilled the closing sentence of a prophecy uttered six hundred and forty years before the event, and was the literal accomplishment of the calamities which God had threatened to visit upon the Jewish people fifteen hundred and twenty years before their occurrence. A nation of a fierce countenance, under the standard of the Eagle, besieged Jerusalem in all its gates, until its high and fenced walls were broken down. In the distress of that devoted people, the tender and delicate woman, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, consumed secretly, the

¹ Prideaux's Connection.

fruit of her own body; and their afflictions were such as never had been since the beginning of the world, nor ever shall be. The Temple was utterly demolished, so that not one stone was left upon another which was not thrown down, and the Jews became a proverb, and a by-word, and an astonishment among all nations. The sacrifice and the burnt offerings have ceased, and the order of the Priesthood has been abolished. All these severe denunciations, and this wonderful judgment of God, were fulfilled agreeably to the prediction of our Savior, before that generation, which had called down upon themselves and their children, the blood of Him whom they had cruelly crucified and slain, were passed away.

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

CHAPTER II.

“THE Church of God is built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ, himself, being the chief cornerstone.”

Our Savior established no system of church government; nor did he prescribe any particular form of public worship. The apostles were simply commanded to teach all nations; encouraged by the assurance that he would be with them alway, even unto the end of the world.

After his ascension, the disciples, being in number about one hundred and twenty, selected two who had continually attended the ministry of the word, from the baptism of John to the day that he was taken up into heaven; and having cast their lots, Matthias was chosen, and was henceforth numbered with the eleven.

This is the first and the only appointment made to preserve the apostolic succession. The authority and reason of this appointment are expressly stated as founded on Holy Writ. Judas had fallen by transgression, and it was written, “His bishopric let another take”—“that one should be ordained to be a witness with the eleven, of the resurrection of Christ.” The form of this appointment was simple, and unaccompanied with the ceremony of the laying on of hands. The apostles and brethren, or the congregated members of the church, selected two; and the choice of one of these was referred, by prayer and the casting of lots, to the great Head of the church.

On the day of Pentecost,¹ which was the fiftieth from the day of the resurrection, the Holy Ghost descended upon the disciples in the form of cloven tongues, like as of fire: and there were added to the church about three thousand persons. The number of believers was greatly increased after this miraculous manifestation of the Holy Spirit. Within a short time after, we are informed, there were about five thousand men (women not included) who believed. The Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved. On the day of Pentecost, there were strangers in Jerusalem, from Europe, Asia, and Africa; as Parthians, Medes, Elamites, Mesopotamians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, Pamphylians, Lybians, Cretans, Arabians, Romans, dwellers in Judea, Pontus, and Egypt. Through these the doctrines of the Christian religion must have been widely diffused over the most distant provinces of the Roman empire; and doubtless through this channel they were carried to Rome itself. This miraculous exhibition of the power of God must have been accompanied with the conversion of many from those distant sections of the world who were then in Jerusalem; and Christian converts must have planted the first seeds of the church before the apostles departed from that city, and commenced the preaching of the gospel among the Gentile nations. Thus had the Providence of God provided for the propagation of the truth.

The apostles directed both the temporal and spiritual interests of the church, until the numbers of the disciples were so multiplied, that they were unable to discharge the various duties of the two offices, and give themselves continually to prayer and to the ministry of the world. At their own suggestion therefore, "the whole multitude" chose from among themselves seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom they set before the apostles; and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them. This was the institution of the order of deacons, who were intrusted with the secular affairs and interests of the church.

Philip and Stephen,² however, both labored in the ministry. The former preached and baptized in Samaria; the latter, full of faith and power, did great wonders and miracles among the people.

The persecution of the church by Saul, who was afterwards called Paul, soon after the martyrdom of Stephen, dispersed the disciples throughout the provinces of Judea and Samaria; but the apostles remained in Jerusalem. Peter however, in obedience to a vision, went to Cesarea, and baptized Cornelius. When he returned

¹Pentecost, a solemn festival of the Jews; so called because it was celebrated on the fiftieth day after the sixteenth of Nisan, which was the second day of the Passover. In the primitive church, and since, it is known as Whitsunday. So called, because it was made a stated day for baptism; and those who were baptized were clothed in white garments, as emblems or types of that spiritual purity which they received in baptism.

²Acts vi. 8, 9, 10, 11. Also, xxi. 8.

to Jerusalem, the converts of the circumcision arraigned him for having done that which they believed to be unlawful. It is not said that the apostles contended with him; but his conduct was the subject of animadversion by those who, in modern phraseology, were the lay members of the church. It would not appear, from this circumstance, that there was at this time a belief in the supremacy or infallibility of Peter. The general impression must have been unfavorable to him; otherwise he would not have been driven to the necessity of defending and justifying his conduct before the church. In the spirit of the controversy there seems not to have been a proper respect and deference paid to him as an apostle. What would have been the language of one of his successors, in the twelfth century, or even in a more enlightened age, had a whole council of bishops, questioned the legality of his decrees? Instead of acquiescing in their right to doubt the sacredness of his prerogative, or to dispute the holiness of his character, the curses and anathemas of the Vatican would have thundered in their ears.

The success of those who had preached in Antioch, having been communicated to the apostles in Jerusalem, they sent Barnabas there; who, when he saw that the grace of God was evidently bestowed upon the Gentiles, procured the co-operation of Paul: and they remained a year in that city, teaching and preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ. Here the disciples were first called Christians. At the time of the persecution and martyrdom of Stephen, we are informed, certain Cypriot and Cyrenian converts fled from Jerusalem to Antioch, and preached Christ to the Grecians in that city;¹ "and a great number believed and turned unto the Lord." It is supposed, however, that Christianity had been introduced there soon after the day of Pentecost. There can be no doubt therefore that a church was already organized, when Paul and Barnabas visited it; which was about the year 43.

In the infancy of the Church many no doubt taught and preached the gospel, who had not been regularly ordained to the ministry. The Gospel of Matthew is supposed to have been written in the year 38; and this early record of the life, doctrines, and miracles of our Saviour communicated to distant regions a knowledge of the truth of the Christian religion, and may have preceded the apostles in their missionary labors. Apollos, who is introduced in the Scripture as a certain Jew born at Alexandria, and who spoke boldly in the Synagogue, knew only of the baptism of John, and understood not the doctrines of Christ, and to whom Aquila and Priscilla expounded the way of God more perfectly, was probably one of those who informally entered into the ministry, but was recognised by the apostles.²

¹Acts xi. 20, 21. There is no evidence that these converts were episcopally ordained to the ministry—yet it is written—"The hand of the Lord was with them."

²Ananias who baptized Paul is mentioned in Scripture as "a certain disciple at Damascus;" and as "a devout man according to the law;" and not as one who was ordained to the ministry and the preaching of the gospel.

A general famine prevailed throughout the Roman empire A. D. cir: 44, and a contribution for the relief of the brethren in Jerusalem was sent from Antioch, by Barnabas and Paul, to the *elders* in that city. This is the first allusion to that office in connection with the Christian Church. This office, however, was an important one in the Synagogue of the Jews.

"That order might be preserved," says Prideaux,¹ "there were in every Synagogue some fixed ministers to take care of the religious duties to be performed in it; and these were, by imposition of hands, solemnly admitted thereto. The first were the *elders* of the Synagogue, who governed all the affairs of it, and directed all the duties of religion therein to be performed. These were the *Archisunagogoi*, or rulers of the Synagogue. Next to these (or perhaps one of them) was the minister of the Synagogue; who officiated in offering up the public prayers to God for the whole congregation. As their messenger, representative, or angel, to speak to God for them, he was, in the Hebrew language, called, *Sheliach Zibbor*, that is, the *angel of the church*." "Next to the *Sheliach Zibbor* were the *deacons*, or inferior ministers of the Synagogue, in Hebrew called *Chazanim*, or overseers; who were also fixed ministers, and under the rules of the Synagogue, had the charge and oversight of all things in it. They kept the sacred books of the law and the prophets, &c., and all other utensils belonging to the Synagogue, &c."

"The *Sheliach Zibbor*," continues Prideaux, "was the ordinary minister appointed to this office; but often others were extraordinarily called out for the discharging of it, provided they were by age, gravity, skill and piety of conversation, qualified for it. Whosoever was thus appointed to this ministry was the *Sheliach Zibbor*, that is, the angel of the congregation for that time."

There was in the apostolic church no parity of office with that of the *Archisunagogos*. The title is no where in the New Testament used in reference to the ministers or preachers of the gospel. But the second order of the elders, or *presbuteroi*, who were the ministers of the Synagogue, and officiated in the public services of the congregation, are frequently mentioned; and in the Apocalypse they are addressed as the angels of the churches. There were then but two orders of ministers recognised in the apostolic church,² the elders and the deacons; and so far, in its organization it resembled that of the Jewish Synagogue. The former had the direc-

¹The Old and New Testament connected.

²In a celebrated work called—"The Institution of a Christian Man,"—approved expressly by Archbishop Cranmer, bishops Jewell, Willet, and Stillingfleet, and the main body of the English clergy, together with the King and Parliament, is this declaration—"In the New Testament there is no mention of any other degrees, but of deacons or ministers, and of presbyters or bishops." Dwight's Theology, vol. 4, page 238.

tion of the spiritual interests of the church, and were the teachers and preachers of the gospel; the latter had the management of its temporal affairs. There seems to have been no intermediate order of *ruling elders*, introduced in the 16th century into the Protestant Reformed churches, who “exercised government and discipline in conjunction with pastors and ministers.”

Paul in his 1st Epistle to Timothy, says—“Let the elders who rule well be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in the word and doctrine.” The advice here given is intended to be applied, either to different grades of offices, or, to those of the same office not discharging with equal faithfulness and diligence the various duties incumbent upon them. In explanation of which it may be remarked; that the ministers, the apostles as well as those regularly ordained after them, were intrusted with the oversight and spiritual rule of the congregations or churches of which they were the pastors.

The Epistle to Timothy was written A. D. 60. In the following year, Paul sent from Miletus to Ephesus for the elders of the church, and charged them—“To take heed unto themselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers (*episcopous*,) to feed (*poimainein*, to take care of, to rule) the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.” (*Acts xx.*) In his Epistle to the Hebrews, chap. 13, he says—“Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the Word of God.”

As overseers, by virtue of their eldership, the fiduciary charge of teaching and ruling, necessarily devolved upon them. The term overseers or *episcopous*, as first applied here to the elders or ministers in Ephesus, is not intended as a distinction of office, but as expressive of a duty appurtenant to the pastoral charge, with which, as elders (*presbuteroi* or presbyters) they were intrusted by the Holy Ghost.

An overseer, or in the Greek, *episcopos*, was one who had the superintendence of any work; and was not an officer originally of either distinction or honor. In the 2d Chron. xxxiv. 12, the overseers of the workmen who repaired the Temple were called, *episcopoi*. In the 2d Kings xii. 11, those who did the work, and had the oversight (or *ton episcopon*) of the house of the Lord are mentioned in this sense of the term. In Nehemiah xi. 22, Uzzi is said to have had the supervision of the Levites, as overseer, or *episcopos*. David, imprecating the judgment of God upon his enemy, prophetically alluding to Judas the betrayer of our Lord, says—“Let another take his office” (*ten episcopon*.)¹

The term, *bishop*, from the Saxon, *biscop*, is derived through that dialect from the Gr: *Bios*, a place or station, and *scopos* an

¹ Greek Septuagint.

inspector, which originally therefore implied no more than an overseer, or one who held an appointment of an inferior rank. The apostle however attaches to it a distinction by its conjunction with the office of a presbyter or pastor of the church of God. And it may be further remarked, that the deacon, or *chazanim* of the Synagogue, whose duties were very similar to those of a deacon in the Christian Church, was, as regarded his oversight of the temporal affairs of the Synagogue, an *episcopos*, or bishop.

The term bishop, first applied to the elder or presbyter, as explanatory of the duties of his office, was soon after used by the inspired writers as a synonymous term with elder. At a later period, it became one of pre-eminence: and finally, clothed in the factitious dress of popish episcopacy, its pristine simplicity was entirely concealed beneath the splendor and the gorgeous array of dignities and spiritual prerogatives.

In the Epistle to Titus, Paul says—"For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee: If any be blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, not accused of riot, or unruly. For a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God." Here, the titles of elder and bishop are mentioned as appertaining to one and the same office.

But, if it would give weight to the position, that they are used as convertible terms in the Scriptures of the New Testament, the authority of eminent writers might be adduced; who, although Episcopalians in principle, have conceded what they have been unable to refute.

Bishop Burnet acknowledges, that "Bishop and presbyter are one and the same office." Paley admits, that "It cannot be proved that any form of church government was laid down in the Christian Scriptures, with a view of fixing a constitution for succeeding ages." Dr. Holland, King's Professor of Divinity at Oxford, says, that "To affirm the office of bishop to be different from that of presbyter, and superior to it, is most false; contrary to Scripture, to the Fathers, to the doctrine of the church of England, yea, to the very schoolmen themselves." Dr. Reynolds, Professor of Divinity at Oxford, England, declares, that "All who labored for five hundred years before his time, thought, that all pastors, whether entitled bishops or priests, have equal power and authority by the Word of God." The London Christian Observer, the leading Episcopal periodical in England, admits, that "Episcopalians found not the merits of their cause upon any express injunction or delineation of ecclesiastical government in the Scriptures; for there is none." Bishop Onderdonk, in his "Episcopacy tested by Scripture," says—"The name bishop, which now designates the highest grade in the ministry, is not appropriated to this office in Scripture. That name is given to the middle order or presbyters (elders,) and

all that we read in the New Testament concerning bishops is to be regarded as pertaining to that middle grade.”¹

This being admitted, that bishops, and elders or presbyters, are terms used interchangeably by the writers of the New Testament; no other intermediate officer, between the bishop or elder and the deacon, has been mentioned by them. Paul in the 1st Epistle to Timothy, chap. 3d, describes the qualifications of a bishop and mentions particularly, that he should rule well his own house; otherwise how shall he take care of the church of God. From the bishop he passes on to the deacon. He makes no allusion to lay elders as representatives of the people: who are more important officers than deacons.

In the Epistle to the Philippians, the apostle addresses himself to the saints in Christ Jesus, with the *bishops* and *deacons*.

There is an Epistle of Polycarp, written in the year 150, addressed “from Polycarp and the presbyters that are with him, to the church of God which is at Philippi.” In this he reminds the members of that church, that they are subject to the presbyters and deacons, as to God and Christ,² &c. This is the only distinction of officers alluded to by him.

In the 4th chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians, the apostle enumerates the ministerial offices instituted by the authority of Jesus Christ as apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers: “for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.”

Upon the first, or the apostles, the Church of Christ is emphatically said to be built. It is evident, that their qualifications were of such a peculiar character, that no others could discharge their duties, or succeed them in their sacred office. It was necessary that they should have accompanied the Lord Jesus, from the baptism of John, unto the day that he was taken up into heaven: and therefore have witnessed his miracles, and heard his doctrines from himself; and that they were immediately called, and chosen to the office by Christ. As they acted under a divine commission, their powers were not transferable to others. As they wrote and spoke by the inspiration of God, and the doctrines they taught, were the wisdom of God and the power of God to the salvation of believers, no human being can assume to act and speak with the same

¹See Dwight's Theology, vol. 4th, Sermon 151, for the authority quoted.

²Having imparted to them his spiritual instructions, he says—“Wherefore it is necessary that ye abstain from all these things, being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as to God and Christ.” “Let the presbyters,” he continues, “be tender and merciful, compassionate towards all, reducing those that are in error, visiting all that are weak; not negligent of the widow and the orphan, and him that is poor, but ever providing what is honest in the sight of God and men; abstaining from all wrath, respect of persons, and unrighteous judgment; being far from covetousness, not hastily believing a report against any man, nor rigid in judgment; knowing that we are all faulty, and obnoxious to punishment.”

unerring infallibility, as by divine authority derived through them, without a fearful responsibility. The apostolic office must necessarily have expired with the death of the apostles. Their duties were peculiarly those of episcopal presbyters.¹

The prophets were no doubt teachers, who were endowed with the gift of predicting events. They were subordinate to the apostles. Of these, were Judas and Silas, who accompanied Paul and Barnabas from Jerusalem to Antioch with the Epistle from the apostles, elders, and brethren. So was Agabus who predicted the great dearth which took place in the days of Claudius Cæsar.

The evangelists were next in order to the apostles: for Judas and Silas, although prophets, are spoken of as only "chief men among the brethren." They were missionaries; and under the direction of the apostles visited the churches. Titus, one of the evangelists, was left in Crete by Paul "to set in order the things that are wanted, and to ordain elders in every city." Timothy, another evangelist, was enjoined by Paul "to give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine: and not to neglect the gift that was in him, which was given by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." He also advises him "to lay hands suddenly on no man." Philip, one of the deacons, was also one of the evangelists. The title is particularly applied to the four inspired writers of our Savior's life. Having the authority to ordain elders or bishops; they occupied a rank at least co-ordinate with them.

Pastors and teachers were next in order. But the apostles, the prophets, and evangelists, were also teachers and preachers of the Word. Presbyters, elders, or bishops, were titles equally applicable to them all. Peter in his Epistle, says—"The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder." John also in his second Epistle, writes—"The elder unto the elect lady,"—and in his third Epistle—"The elder unto the well beloved Gaius."

In the year 44, James, the brother of John, was killed by Herod; and Peter was at the same time imprisoned in Jerusalem. It appears to be generally admitted that the apostles did not separate until after this period. Herod died soon after the occurrence of those events, Claudius was at this time emperor of Rome.

The prophets and teachers which were in that church, by the command of the Holy Ghost, set apart Paul and Barnabas for the work; and having prayed and laid their hands on them, sent them away. Paul visited the provinces in Asia Minor, and it was in one of their cities that he addressed the Jews, who had contradict-

¹Elders or presbyters, feeding and taking the oversight of the flock of God. See 1st Epistle of Peter iv. 1, 2, 3. The episcopal presbyters of the second century—distinguished at first by the simple title of bishops—became in the close of that century, metropolitans, or diocesan bishops, with a jurisdiction extending over an entire province of the Roman empire.

ed with blasphemy the preaching of the word, in the following language—"It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you; but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo! we turn to the Gentiles." Having completed the circuit of his mission he returned to Antioch.

In the year 52, whilst Paul and Barnabas were at Antioch, Jewish converts from Judea, insisted upon the rite of circumcision as essential to salvation; and dissensions arose in the Church which neither the authority nor the arguments of Paul could pacify. To compromise these differences, which threatened a fatal schism, Paul and Barnabas were sent to Jerusalem to obtain a decision of this question by the apostles and elders in that church.

And here it will be proper to remark, that difficulties present themselves, in the incongruity between the sacred narratives of the events at Antioch, and the records of ecclesiastical writers whose names have come down to us as the venerable fathers of the Church; and this incongruity has shaken the foundation of the papal system of episcopacy.

If, either Peter, or his supposed successor *Erodius*, was diocesan of Antioch, when Paul and Barnabas were separated for the work whereunto the Holy Ghost had called them; why were they consecrated, by the prayer and the laying on of the hands of certain prophets and teachers, who were not of a higher order than the presbyters or elders? It is not said, that this was done because of the absence of the bishop; nor is it mentioned in any part of the Scripture of the New Testament that ever such an officer presided over the church at Antioch as prelate. But if in the absence of the diocesan bishop, the consecration of so distinguished an apostle as Paul could be performed by the elders, or by teachers of no higher order, with the sanction of the Holy Ghost; what becomes of the theory of the divine authority under which the prelates of the episcopal hierarchy have assumed exclusive jurisdiction over the rites and solemnities of dedicating to the ministry. *Erodius*, the ideal bishop of Antioch and successor of Peter, is not alluded to in any portion of the sacred Scriptures.

It is not the less remarkable, that in the controversy which arose in the Church respecting the rite of circumcision, *Erodius* appears not to have expressed an opinion on the subject; nor was there a reference made to him, to decide the question by prelatical authority.

When carried up for adjudication to Jerusalem, Paul and Barnabas submitted it to the apostles and elders, and not to Peter, who as infallible head of the Church, it might be supposed, should have had an exclusive jurisdiction in the determination of the question.

After a mature deliberation of the subject; "it pleased the apostles and elders, with the whole Church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch, with Paul and Barnabas." Their decision was, that converted Gentiles should not be bound to an observance of the legal ceremonies; but that "they would do well, if they abstained from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication." They did not prohibit any of those rites for which the Jewish converts had contended; and condemned, what a Gentile Christian might conscientiously refrain from doing.

This convention of the Church has been called, "The first general council." It was the last, whose deliberations were directed by the Holy Ghost. We are not informed that any one of the apostles presided. It is said, that "there was much disputing." Peter advised, that they put not a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, too grievous to be borne. James declared his sentence to be, that those from among the Gentiles who have turned to God be not troubled, &c. With the opinion of James, the assembly agreed; and sent their decision in an address,¹ "from the apostles and elders and brethren unto the *brethren* which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia."

Not long after this unanimous decision of the Church in Jerusalem, Peter went down to Antioch. For a time he indulged in a free and social intercourse with the Gentile converts in that city. But when certain Jews from Jerusalem appeared in Antioch, fearing to offend those who were of the circumcision, he withdrew from the society of the Gentiles. This induced many of the Jews to separate themselves also from their Gentile associates, and even Barnabas, as the apostle declares, "Was carried away with their dissimulation." It was on this occasion that Paul uttered against him a severe rebuke; withstanding him to the face, because he was to be blamed: and thus charged him with dissimulation before them all. How demonstrably does this prove, that Peter, was not only fallible, but obnoxious to the reproofs and censures of those who labored with him in the ministry. But how worthy of our imitation was his conduct.

From the representations of his character by the Romish church, and the pretensions which have been raised in his name and by those who claim to be his successors, Christians have unavoidably received impressions unfavorable to the humility and unobtrusive piety of this zealous and devout minister of the Lord Jesus Christ. He has been too generally viewed through a false medium, the corrupt and wicked hierarch of Rome, the vile representative and base counterfeit of a holy man of God. The meekness and truly Christian spirit with which he appears on all occasions to have re-

¹The simplicity in the organization of the primitive churches is clearly delineated in the scriptural history of these transactions.

ceived the censures and condemnation of those to whom he was united in bonds of Christian love and fellowship, exhibits the true character of a disciple of the cross. "His Epistles," says an eminent writer with much beauty and force of truth, "are peculiarly remarkable for the sweetness, gentleness, and humble love, with which they are written; which indeed form a striking contrast, to the domineering pride and severity, that characterize the pretended successors of this sacred writer." (*Scott.*)

Notwithstanding the clear manifestations of the grace of God having been bestowed upon the Gentile converts, particularly in the case of Cornelius and through the instrumentality of Peter himself, he and the other apostles, with the exception of Paul, clung with culpable tenacity to Judaism. They seemed to regard the Church of Christ as engrafted on the ancient stock of the old dispensation of the law and ordinances. Paul understood and preached with clearness—"That the Gentiles, who in times past had been aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise, without hope and without God in the world, were by the blood of Christ brought nigh: and that Jews and Gentiles were made one; the middle wall of partition between them having been broken down."

The sacred historians have given no further account of Peter. His missionary labors in the distant provinces of the East must have been undertaken after his interview with Paul at Antioch in the year 52. It is stated by Dionysius, of Corinth, who lived at the close of the second century, that Peter founded the church of Rome: and tradition, or some unknown authority, imputes to him the founding of the church at Antioch. From an equally authentic source we are informed, that he was bishop of Antioch seven years (from A. D. 36 to 43;) that he transferred his See to Rome and was bishop of the church in that imperial city twenty-five years; or from A. D. 43 to 68. These however are the mere hallucinations of the fathers: if they be not fraudulent mis-statements to bolster up the pretensions of the Romish church. Peter's missionary labors were extended over the provinces of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and other regions in Asia; as may be inferred from the address of his first Epistle written A. D. 63, in Babylon. It has been affirmed, by writers of research, that he never visited Rome; and no direct and unquestionable facts have been produced to controvert the assertion. On the other hand, very plausible reasons have been advanced to substantiate its correctness.

The writer of "the Acts of the Apostles" closed his history with the events of the year 63. Throughout that narrative there is no statement to authorize the belief that any of the apostles or elders was bishop, either of Antioch or of Rome; but the strongest circumstantial evidence may be drawn from the relation of the

occurrences up to that period, to contravene it. The question then will recur ; at what time could Peter have visited Rome ?

In the examination of this question, the testimony of the fathers, who have written upon no evidence alledged to be unquestionable, but who have given to the world their own conjectures founded on traditions or fabulous legends, should be rejected as unworthy of a place in sober history. The maxim, that deception and fraud are not only justifiable but praiseworthy, when the temporal interests of the Church would be thereby promoted, was adopted by the fathers many centuries before it became a fundamental principle in popery.

Paul's Epistle to the Romans was written A. D. 58, (Calmet) in Corinth. The leading object of this Epistle appears to have been a reconciliation of the differences between the Jewish and Gentile converts. The "strangers of Rome," who were in Jerusalem at the time of Pentecost, were supposed to have first planted Christianity in the capital of the empire. Priscilla and Aquila who were then in Rome (58) had been banished from that city by Claudius in 49 ; but had returned at the date of the Epistle. To them Paul sends his salutations, as his *fellow-helpers* in Christ Jesus, and to the church in their house ; and to Andronicus and Junia, his kinsmen and fellow-prisoners, who are of note (*en*, with) among the apostles ; and to many others, with all the saints which are with them. Among these Peter is not mentioned ; nor is there an allusion to him in any part of the Epistle. Such an omission can be attributed to the fact, that he was not recognized by Paul as the bishop of that church ; and that if he had been there at the time as a teacher Paul could not have been apprised of his visit.

About four years after, or in 62 ; Paul was sent to Rome as a prisoner. On his arrival, he calls together the chief of the Jews, and explains to them the circumstances under which he was brought as a prisoner. He preaches to them the doctrines of Christ ; and when they disbelieved, he tells them, that the salvation of God is sent to the Gentiles, and that they will hear it. He continued in Rome two years ; and dwelt in his own hired house—"Preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching, &c. &c." During his residence there (from A. D. 62 to 64 ;) he wrote his several Epistles to the Colossians, the Ephesians, the Philippians, and to Philemon. From no one of these can it be inferred that Peter was there. In the first, he says—"Aristarchus, Marcus, and Jesus, which is called Justus, are my *only fellow-workers* unto the kingdom of God, which have been a comfort unto me ;" and mentions Epaphras and Luke the beloved physician as being with him.

But the Epistle of Peter written in Babylon, A. D. 64, is conclusive, with the circumstances already alluded to, that he could not have been in Rome previous to that year, and was certainly not bishop of that church. The Romish writers, however, have re-

sorted to the singular subterfuge of affirming, that by Babylon, the apostle mystically meant Rome. It is true, that in the Apocalypse, the woman seated upon a scarlet colored beast, and upon whose forehead was written the names—"Mystery, Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth," was the emblem of the church of Rome; and whom John, prophetically speaking, says, he saw—"Drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus." This mystical language was suitable when applied to prophecy; but, unless we suppose Peter to have written the name Babylon prophetically of Rome, as John did, and which is improbable, we must conclude that the Epistle was written in that city and not in Rome.¹

During Paul's second imprisonment in Rome, which was A. D. 66, he wrote his second Epistle to Timothy. This seems to have been written not long before his martyrdom. This event is stated by Calmet to have occurred in that year, but by other chronologists in the following, or in 67. He says, "I have finished my course;" "I am ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand."

He complains, that in his first defense no man stood with him, but all forsook him; and prays it may not be laid to their charge: and salutes Prisca and Aquila; who had again left Rome from the persecution by Nero. He concludes, by sending the salutations of Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, Claudia, and all the brethren. Paul would not have stood alone in his defense, had Peter been in Rome. At what time then could he have gone there? This question cannot be, and never has been, answered satisfactorily, by any authentic evidence. That he was crucified in Rome, seems to have been conceded by modern writers, more on the ground of a general acquiescence of the fathers, than on any incontrovertible authorities they have adduced to establish the fact. With no higher degree of testimony has it been also admitted, that he organized a church of Jewish converts in that city: as Paul, with greater probability, is supposed to have founded a Gentile Christian church, during his first visit, or between the years 62 and 64.

The church at Jerusalem was the first Christian association organized after the ascension of our Savior. Being under the immediate charge and instruction of the whole college of the apostles for many years; it must have exercised appellate jurisdiction of all cases of controversies arising in the churches of the other cities.

The church in Antioch became at an early period distinguished above all the primitive churches in Asia. Christianity is supposed to have been introduced into that city after the day of Pentecost; but the Scriptures of the New Testament have not informed us at what time a church was first organized; and who was its pastor, if

¹Scott's Commentaries.

indeed it had one within the period embraced by that sacred history. Chrysostom states, probably by conjecture, that in 44, when relief was sent to the brethren in Jerusalem, the communicants in that city amounted to one hundred thousand.

It is not known when Christianity was first planted in Alexandria. We are informed, however, that at the time of Pentecost, there were in Jerusalem, "dwellers in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene;" which doubtless embraced that city. Numerous colonies of the Jews had been transported to it about three centuries before the Christian era. They were known as Hellenists; and the language they spoke, being corrupted with Hebraisms, was called the Hellenistic dialect. There was in Jerusalem, at the time of the martyrdom of Stephen, a Synagogue of the Libertines (of the city of Libertia, in Africa,) Cyrenians and Alexandrians. At this early period then, and through this channel, the doctrines of the Christian religion may have been carried to Alexandria. Apollos was a native of this city.

It might not perhaps be unimportant to state, that Mark is conjectured to have laid the foundation of the first Christian church in that city. It rivaled for a time those of Antioch and Rome; from the wealth and power it possessed; and long exercised an influence in the ecclesiastical affairs of Christendom.

These four, by pre-eminence, were called apostolic churches; and it will be seen in the progress of this history, that the ambition of its several prelates disturbed the peace and harmony of the Christian world for many centuries; and their contentions were not terminated until the imperial city established a spiritual dominion, not less extensive and energetic, than the political supremacy it had acquired over the nations of the earth.

There are several other churches mentioned in the sacred Scriptures. Paul addressed his Epistles, not to the diocesan bishops, as he doubtless would have done had prelacy been established, but "To all that be in Rome," "Unto the church of God at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints," "Unto the churches of Galatia," "To the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus," "To all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the *bishops*¹ and *deacons*," "To the saints and faithful brethren in Christ which are at Colosse," "Unto the churches of the Thessalonians." In his Epistle to the Hebrews, he tells them to salute for him *all those* that had the rule over them. In not one of these Epistles can there be found a single allusion to a *bishop* presiding over the diocese of a city or province, in the modern acceptation of that title. Nor is there any evidence to show, that either Timothy or Titus, who as evangelists were empowered to exercise a superintendence and regulation

¹Here a plurality of bishops is mentioned in reference to the churches at Philippi; which is conclusive, there could have been no diocesan at that period.

of the internal affairs of the churches to which they were sent, and to preach the doctrines as communicated to them by the apostle, exercised episcopal jurisdiction. It is certain that Timothy was ordained to the ministry by the laying on of the hands of the presbyters, (1 *Tim. iv. 14.*) Eusebius says, that "the work of an evangelist was, to lay the foundation of churches in barbarous nations, to constitute them pastors; and, having committed to them the cultivating of those new plantations, they passed on to other countries."

Having briefly sketched the features of the ecclesiastical government in the apostolic age of the Christian Church, the doctrines which agitated it at that period will be as briefly reviewed.

The Church, composed as it was of Jews and Gentiles, was early agitated by the question, whether, the belief and practice of the doctrines and precepts of Christ, were sufficient for salvation, without circumcision and the observance of the Mosaic rites. This was advanced by Pharisees, who were uncompromising in their adherence to those ancient rites. The decision of this question by the council in Jerusalem, was for a time satisfactory to both parties; but the difficulties were not removed. This we are assured of by the subsequent history of the Church, and the tenor of Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

The Jews placed their confidence of acceptance with God, on the rite of circumcision and their obedience to the ceremonial law; to these the Pharisees added, the tradition of the elders, and many superstitious usages of their own contrivance. A compliance with the moral law alone seems not to have been regarded by them as a means of justification. Their doctrine of meritorious works, which embrace obedience of the ritual law and a religious veneration of ancient traditions, formed the strong ground of their plan of salvation. In opposition to this system of justification by works, Paul, throughout his Epistles, urges the Scriptural doctrine of justification by faith. He asserts that, "By the deeds of the law no flesh shall be justified in the sight of God;" that "the righteousness of God is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe;" that "circumcision profiteth if thou keep the law; but if thou be a breaker of the law, thy circumcision is made uncircumcision;" that under the new gospel dispensation, "neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision," that there is now "neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian nor Scythian, but that we are all one in Christ Jesus." With so much emphasis, and so urgently, was this doctrine of justification by faith insisted on by the apostle, that they who were unlearned and unstable wrested it to their own destruction: and wickedly and fatally concluded, that faith without works was sufficient. And as they were taught, that the law entered that sin might abound, but that where sin abounded grace did much more abound, they drew

the inference that they might therefore safely continue in sin. Hence were there many who believed that obedience to the law would be an act of supererogation; and adopted a scheme of antinomianism. Into this fatal error were many seduced by a fallacy of reasoning, in the age of the Reformation, when Luther advanced this doctrine of faith as taught by the apostle. The Epistle of James, appears to have been written with a view of removing this difficulty which had arisen in the minds of many; and shows, that evangelical obedience, the natural result of spiritual faith, is the condition of salvation embraced in the gospel covenant.

But the prejudices of Judaism were not the only seeds of division which sprang up in the primitive church. The heathen or Gentile converts brought with them their errors of opinion, their superstitions, and their tenets of a speculative philosophy, which could not be easily eradicated from their minds; and which they endeavored to reconcile with the newly adopted doctrines of the gospel. They had all been idolaters. And in the progress of this history it will appear, that the errors of paganism became so deeply engrafted on the early Christian institutions, that neither time, nor the developments of the light of truth, have ever entirely eradicated them from that church which claims to have received its doctrines, its rites, and its forms of worship from that source; and which boasts of maintaining them as transmitted through successive centuries, unchanged by time, and unpurified by that process of intellectual improvements which has every where expanded the human mind, enlarged the field of science, refined society, new-modelled political governments, and ameliorated the moral condition of mankind. All other institutions enjoy and appreciate the blessings of reformation; the Papal Church alone venerates the antiquity of its construction, as well as the antiquity of its corruption. It clings to its follies and its vices because they were attached to its youth and to its manhood; and now that it is tottering with the decrepitude of age, it holds on with the tenacity of a dying grasp to the burden of its pollutions. It stands, in the nineteenth century, a living monument of the superstitions, and paganized Christianity of the first three centuries of our era.

The Magians, the Cerinthians, the Ebionites, the Nicolaitans, and other branches of the Gnostics, flourished in the days of the apostles, and for some centuries after.

The Magians, or the disciples of Simon Magus, who is particularly mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, or, as they were also called, the Simonians, were probably the first heretics who disturbed the peace of the church. Their system comprised the philosophical theories of Plato, the Mythology of the ancients, and the doctrines of Christianity. The Ebionites arose in the first century. They are distinguished from the other sects more particularly by their rejection of the Divinity of Jesus Christ. They ob-

served the Mosaic ceremonies and rites, and were supposed by some to have been Jewish converts. They zealously opposed the doctrines of Paul, and have been considered as the founders of the sect known in more modern time as Unitarians. The Nicolaitans are mentioned with marked reprobation in the Apocalypse. They were notorious for their licentious practices, as may be inferred from the language of the sacred writer. The Cerinthians, followers of Cerinthus, were also a branch of the Gnostics, and maintained peculiar notions on the subject of the relation between the first and second persons in the Trinity.

But as the different sects which arose in the first century of the Christian era were Gnostics, their respective tenets will be better understood by investigating the principles which constituted that system of philosophy known as Gnosticism. This, it should be observed, is a term of general signification. Those who attempted to explain the theology of the Holy Scriptures by reconciling with it the doctrines of the oriental philosophy, were denominated Gnostics. Although they adopted this as a fundamental rule, and may be said to have founded their reasoning on the same basis, beginning with generally admitted principles, they differed widely in their conclusions. Many different systems were formed, constituting as many different sects, and, although designated by different titles, in reference to their respective and peculiar theories, they were notwithstanding, but branches of the same root. They were Gnostics, in reference to the common ground on which their principles were based. Gnostics were, *Oi Gnostikoi*, or those, who, in their own conceit, were endowed with profound knowledge; as Simon, the Magian, in the language of Scripture, is said to have given out, that, "he was some great one."

As the Eastern Philosophy was the foundation of the Gnostic system, and this was itself founded upon a more ancient system, the whole structure will be better understood by tracing it from its original principles.

Idolatry has existed from the remotest period of which we have any record. With the exception of a few whom God may have reserved to himself as witnesses of his truth, (whom he has doubtless had in every age of the world,) this form of worship constituted the religion of the human race, before the call of Abraham.—His descendants, with a species of popish triumph, might have been asked, Where was your religion before the promise of God was made to your father in Haran? This was the religion of the most ancient and the most powerful kingdoms of the earth; and is even in this enlightened age, the religion of a numerous Christian church. This most debasing exhibition of ignorance and superstition, seems, nevertheless, to be founded on a principle which is the basis of pure and vital Christianity, the principle of mediation between God and man. Job says, "God is not a man, as I am, that

I should answer him, and we should come together in judgment. Neither is there a days-man (*mesites*, or mediator) betwixt us, that might lay his hand upon us both." This idea of an intercessor prevailed in the earliest ages of the world, and suggested an appeal to some intermediate object or power, which, it was thought, could present to the Supreme Being, in an acceptable form, the petition for mercy.

The worship of the celestial bodies, was probably, one of the most ancient forms of religion. The Israelites are cautioned by Moses against an adoration of "the sun and the moon and the stars, even all the host of heaven." These were supposed to be animated by an order of intelligences intermediate between the Supreme Being and man. It was to these intelligences, as mediators, that prayers were offered up, and divine honors rendered. As these bodies, were however, often invisible, sensible representations of them were substituted, and in these secondary bodies, whether animals or images, those celestial intelligences, after certain religious rites were performed by the worshippers, were supposed to reside. This was the origin of idolatry. In the east the prevalence of this form of worship, and the multiplicity of the objects of religious adoration, gave to the sect the title of *Isaba* or *Host*, or *Worshippers of the Host of Heaven*; and hence, after the name of *Sabians*, applied to the idolaters of *Chaldea*, *Persia*, and other *Oriental nations*.¹

This system had been refined by the deification of those who had been distinguished by achievements of valor and deeds of heroism. These, in the heathen mythology, are honored as demigods. They were also supposed to be endowed with an intercessory power in heaven on account of their acts of virtue whilst on earth.—This system was the exact prototype of a more modern system of saint worship, and which was a pagan contribution to the primitive Christian Church. The Romanists believe that the saints in heaven "obtain for them, by their prayers, help and grace from God, to enable them to secure the great work of their salvation."

That the whole system of Sabianism, as received into the papal church, was derived from a pagan origin, has been admitted by the doctors of the Sorbone, Paris; and this reason is given by them for its adoption: "*Quod omnes Pagani semper habuerint minores Deos pro suis Intercessoribus; non est autem rationabile quod Christiani habeant minus privilegii quam Gentiles.*" Art. a Facultat. Sac. Theol. Par. As has been remarked by a writer, "The invocation of these angelic spirits is, in fact, a revival, or rather a continuation of the old heathen superstition in a new shape. The names of angels have been substituted for gods, saints for demigods, martyrs for heroes, and churches for temples." But the comparison

¹ Prideaux's Connection between the Old and New Testament.

between the pagan and papal systems of idolatry will be more appropriately introduced in a subsequent part of this History.

Pursuing the progress of the religious superstitions of the East, and tracing the origin and advance of those systems, from which were drawn the principles of their philosophy, and their theories of spiritual existences, the doctrines of the Magi, are next in point of antiquity, to be considered. From this source, it will be seen, that the Gnostics, who refined, and in truth new modelled the system of the Christian religion, derived for the most part, their speculative notions on the relations between the Father and the Son.—Not only this, it will be evident, that the forms of worship and of government of the primitive Church, after the first century, were by insensible degrees, brought to a remarkable conformity with those of the religious system of the Magi.

This sect claims a very remote antiquity, but had almost sunk into oblivion, when it was revived by the genius and learning of Zoroaster. This Persian philosopher was the contemporary of Daniel the prophet. Having become conversant with the cosmogony and theism of the Holy Scriptures, he introduced into his scheme, so much of those sacred writings as captivated his imagination, or were suitable to his views.

Zoroaster taught that there is one Supreme God, the Creator of light and of darkness. Moses had written, that, “God said let there be light, and there was light: and God divided the light from the darkness.”

But in the original language of Genesis, the word which has been translated God, is a plural with three numbers, and this with the phraseology subsequently introduced by the sacred writer, “Let us make,” probably suggested to that philosopher (blended with his preconceived notions of two principles, one the cause of good, and the other the cause of evil,) the idea of two angels, from the mixture of light and darkness, creating all things. One of these he called the Angel of Light, and the other, the Angel of Darkness, known by the Greeks, as *Oramasdes* and *Arimanius*. They are supposed to be always in contention; and good or evil prevails in the moral and physical world, as either obtains the ascendancy. There will be a day of a general resurrection, when a just retribution shall be awarded to all according to their works.

The Magi believed that the sun was the symbol of the Angel of Light; and fires were kindled on the altars of their temples as emblems of the sun, which were never permitted to expire. All their worship was addressed to the one Supreme God, through these symbols or types of the Angel of Light, with their faces towards the east. Their altars were consequently placed on the eastern side of their temples. The priests, whilst offering up their prayers, or reading the liturgy, veiled their faces, that they might not breathe on the sacred fire. The service was pronounced with a

muttering and rapid enunciation, in which there was no audible articulation, and therefore the words which were uttered could not be distinguished by the hearers. The liturgy was in the old Persian language, which ceased to be the vernacular of the country, and was, therefore, not understood by the people, and but imperfectly by the priests. Zoroaster pretended that he had brought it from heaven, when he had also received the hallowed fire, and therefore their veneration for it.

With these several forms of worship, there is a remarkable conformity of the Romish rites. Their liturgy is in an ancient tongue, the Latin vulgate; and not understood by the worshippers. It is read with a grumbling and inarticulate sound of the voice which carries not a distinct syllable to the ear. Like the Magian worshippers, the Romish altars are placed on the eastern side of their cathedrals or churches, and therefore, the *Kebla*, (or the point of the heavens towards which divine worship is directed,) of the papists and of the Magi is the same. I refer to the prominent features only, of resemblance between the two.

Zoroaster instituted three orders of clergy. The inferior served in the common offices of worship. The next were superintendents, who, in their several districts, governed the inferior clergy, as the bishops in the Episcopal and Papal churches, rule over their respective dioceses.¹ The highest was the Archimagus, or High-priest, with whose spiritual powers and infallibility, the Hierarch of the Papal church bears a striking analogy. So far the resemblance between these two religious institutions.

The Magi denied that they were idolaters; so did the Sabians, who are said to have worshipped the Host of Heaven; and so do the Papists, who have their Mother of God, their angels, saints, and consecrated wafer, their gods many and lords many.

Plato, with the Zendavesta of Zoroaster, and the writings of Moses and the prophets; and the speculations of the Grecian philosophers who preceded him, established a system of moral and intellectual philosophy, from which the theories and doctrines of the Gnostics were, for the most part, drawn. He taught, that there is one God, perfect in all his attributes; eternal and omnipotent; who gave to matter that order and symmetry which are perceived in the universe. But unable to account for the existence of evil, and for the derangements which occur in the physical world, he supposed that matter, which had existed from all eternity, had in itself a principle which the Great Artificer could not control; and that therefore, he was unable to carry out to perfection, the design of physical beauty and of moral excellence which in his divine mind he contemplated and desired. The soul of man he believed to be an emanation from God, but by a previous mysterious pro-

¹ Prideaux's Connections, vol. 1. p. 200.

cession from the soul of the world. This primary relation which it bore to matter, was the source or cause of an innate principle of corruption; and hence its tendency or disposition to disobey the moral law of God; which tendency it derived from its connection with matter, itself endowed with a blind and refractory principle of resistance against the will of the Supreme Being. Matter, therefore, is the original and continually acting cause of all evil. The soul is immortal; and may be prepared to return to the Deity from whom it emanated, by intellectual improvement, and its purification from the corruptions it imbibes through its connection with the body, and which are exhibited in its sensual desires and its animal passions. Conformity with the rules and precepts of virtue exalts its character; and an habitual and spiritual contemplation of the divine excellence, ennobles its nature, and prepares it for the enjoyment of perfect happiness in a future state.

He believed that in this Supreme Being, there are three *Hypostases* or natures, expressed by the abstract term, *Triad*. The first, he considered as self-existent, and by way of excellence, is called, *To On*, the Being. Goodness being the great and pre-eminent attribute acknowledged in this Hypostasis of the Deity, he is styled, *To Agathon*, the Good. The second is variously called, as the mind of the Supreme Being, the *Nous*; as his wisdom or reason, the *Logos*; and as the Maker of the world, *Demiourgos tou Kosmou*. The third he entitles, as the soul of the world, the *Psyche*.

Such were the Platonic doctrines—of emanations from the Deity, termed by the Gnostics, *Aeons* or *Genealogies*—of the *Logos*, and of the *Psyche*. That philosopher lived about 400 years before the beginning of the Christian era. His writings were diffused over the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, in which the Greek language was spoken; and his theological system was taught wherever literature was cultivated, but particularly in the celebrated school of Alexandria. The book of “The Wisdom of Solomon,” was a production of the century preceding the birth of Christ, and written by one conversant with the doctrines of the Athenian Philosopher. The works of Philo, under the reign of Augustus, seem to have had in view the harmonizing of the philosophical system of the academies, with the cosmogony and theism of the sacred Scriptures.

The mysterious incarnation of the Son of God, and the hypostatical union of his divine and human natures, presented new and difficult subjects of philosophical investigations. The Gnostics, who had for two or three centuries directed the subtleties of their metaphysical reasoning to the works of Moses and the prophets, now discovered a more extended field in the system of the Christian theology. They were divided into innumerable branches, each maintaining its own peculiar views; and the polemic writings of the age in which they flourished, introduced into the Church many

fatal errors, and vitiated for centuries the pure orthodoxy of the Christian faith. At the close of the third century these controversies had subsided, and were for a short time silenced by the force of truth, and a general abandonment of the successive theories which were advanced; but revived in the following century by Marc of Egypt, and Priscillian, bishop of Abila, in Spain; they extended through Spain and Gaul, and were not finally terminated before the sixth century.

The Simonians, or followers of Simon Magus, maintained that God, or the Supreme Being, in his divine attribute of goodness, is opposed to evil. The existence of evil is not, therefore, attributable to God; for it is also the antagonist of good, which is the essence of the Deity. But matter—having in itself a principle which the Great Artificer cannot control, (so Plato had taught,) and evil—which had existed in the world, seemed to be so intimately connected with the *dérangements* of sensible objects; it is naturally inferred that in it is the principle of all evil. Matter is also co-eternal with God, and consequently independent of him. From these two conflicting and active powers must proceed the alternations of good and evil. From them also sprang the various orders of Intelligences. These Intelligences, which the Gnostics termed *Aeons*, were emanations from the Deity on the one part, and from the evil principle in matter, on the other. From the latter, the corporeal part of man was derived; and God endowed his body with a soul or spirit to combat against the evil influences of his material nature. The Creator of the world is an *Aeon*, emanating from the evil principle; and is called the "*Demiourgos tou Kosmou*," whom the Gnostics contended was the God of the Old Testament. To defeat his works, the Supreme Being sent the *Aeon*, Christ, into the world; and the principal object of his mission was, to rescue man from the tyranny of the *Demiourgos*. The Simonians also maintained that Christ, having descended from the *Pleroma* or world of spirits; was, whilst on earth a mere phantom. They denied the doctrine of a general resurrection. Christ, and *Logos*, who was the *Demiourgos* or Creator of the world, were distinct and antagonist *Aeons*.

The Docetæ or Docetes, were the founders of what has been termed the fantastic system by Gibbon; they are also known as the *Phantasiastæ*. They believed that Christ appeared in the form of manhood, and therefore denied the conception of Mary; his birth, and progressive growth, from infancy to maturity. They supposed that his appearance was but a phantasm, the image only, and not the substance of a human figure. This idea was advanced whilst he yet hang upon the cross; as expressed by Jerome,—"*Apostolis adhuc in sæculo superstitionibus, apud Judæam Christi sanguine recente, Phantasma domini corpus asserbatur.*" To this deceptive appearance of his personality, they attributed the facility

of his escape from his enemies, when in the Temple "they took up stones to cast at him; but he going through the midst of them passed by."

Cerinthus, a Jew, instructed in the school of Alexandria, propagated his doctrines in Asia, and was one of the most subtle and learned sophists of the age. It was to expose his errors that the Gospel of John was supposed to have been written. He was styled "the Enemy of the Truth." His system was simple, but ingeniously constructed; and acquired a popularity from the general opinion, that it reconciled, with clearness and agreeably to the philosophical principles of the era, the hypostatical union of the human and divine natures of Jesus Christ.

He maintained that the former was developed in the person of the Savior, and that his body was the habitation of the *Aeon, Christ*, who was sent down from the *Pleroma*, by the Supreme Being, to deliver man from the contaminating influences of the evil principle; and this emanation from the *To Agathon* had a divine character.—He thus admitted the human nature of Jesus, and the divine nature of Christ. When as the Messiah or Mediator, he was delivered over to be crucified, Christ who was immortal and impassible, forsook the body of Jesus, and returned to the World of Spirits. Jesus as a man, suffered the tortures and pains of crucifixion. Hence his exclamation on the cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" He admitted that Christ was the Mediator, but not the *Logos* or Creator. He is supposed to have been the first who taught the doctrine of the Millenium; and that Christ, in his divine character, would return to Palestine; be re-united to the body of Jesus, which had not yet risen; would reign a thousand years with his people, and that his peaceful and happy reign on earth would be succeeded by their translation to heaven, where they would enjoy everlasting happiness. Such was the ingenious and enchanting system drawn up by Cerinthus. A system which was embraced by those who could not by any process of reasoning, comprehend the mysterious union of a human and divine nature; and by those who were fascinated by the enchanting picture of a thousand years of peace and happiness on earth, and an eternal enjoyment of celestial felicity.

The coincidence between the fourteen verses in the beginning of the Gospel by John, and the dialogues of the Athenian philosopher, was hailed by the Gnostics as a confirmation of the truth of their doctrine of the *Logos*, or second person in the Triad of Plato. John affirms that "the Word was with God and the Word was God. All things were made by him. He was in the world, and the world was made by him. We beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father."

The origin of the term *Logos* or the Word, and from what source the apostle derived it, have been questions in controversy from the

publication of that Gospel to the present time. Could Plato have drawn his distinctions in the Godhead from the sacred records of the Jewish people? That they are clearly delineated in the writings of Moses and the prophets has been admitted; and that Plato was deeply instructed in the learning of the age in which he lived, his writings demonstrably prove. Cicero affirms—“*Plato Egyptum peragravit ut a Sacerdotibus Barbaris numeros et celestia acciperet.*” Josephus in his second book against Apion, speaks of the Jewish nation, having been thoroughly known among all men, and of their laws being known to the Greeks. And more modern writers have asserted, that he derived a part of his knowledge from the Jews; from what Josephus has elsewhere written on the subject, and from the strong internal evidence which his Dialogues exhibit of the fact.

It is improbable, however, that the apostle, who was not conversant with Grecian literature, and less instructed in the mysterious jargon of the oriental philosophy, than in the writings of his own nation, would have drawn his doctrines from the academies, and not from that source which he must have believed authoritative as the Word of God. Upon this subject, scepticism and infidelity might hesitate, reason, and be at length involved in the labyrinth of error. There can be but one safe, rational, and unerring conclusion; that, as an inspired writer, John must have drawn his doctrines from the fountain of light and truth; from the ancient Scriptures which testified of the Lord Jesus Christ.

It is not properly within the compass of this historical sketch to refer to the passages in the Scripture of the Old Testament, which represent the Messiah as the Lord Jehovah. His visible appearance to the patriarchs; the manifestations of His glorious presence in the wilderness; the frequent allusions to Him as the “Angel of the Lord,” the “Messenger of the covenant,” &c. invested with the attributes of Deity; the language of the prophets; and indeed, the general tenor of the inspired writings, all harmonize in proving, without the shadow of a doubt, that the Jehovah of the Old Testament is Jesus Christ in the Scriptures of the New.

The character of Jehovah is clearly exhibited to us as identical with the second person in the Godhead, the Creator of the world. Plato, and some of his disciples, not clearly comprehending this mystery in the Divine Revelation, have represented in obscure and unintelligible language, this distinct person as an emanation of the Supreme Being, the *Nous* or *Logos* of the Deity, the *Demiourgos tou Kosmou*, or Creator of the world. Others of the sect of the Gnostics, maintained that the Jehovah of the Scriptures, although the Creator, the Word, and the Law-giver of the Jewish nation, was yet an emanation from what they called the evil principle.—The disciples of the Platonic school agree in the distinctive title of the *Logos*, and that he was the Creator; and the opening chapter

of John's Gospel has established this doctrine as one of divine truth. The term *Logos* therefore, as thus applied, conveys the idea of distinct personality, and not simply of an expression by which the intentions or thoughts of the speaker are communicated.

That this construction of the term is fully in accordance with the language of the Old Testament, is clearly expressed in the 15th chapter of Genesis, where it is written, "The word of the Lord said, Fear not, Abram: I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward;" in the 18th chapter of the Psalms, wherein it is said, "The word of the Lord is a buckler to all that trust in him;" and throughout the sacred writings. It is also sustained by the Chaldaic paraphrases of the Books of the Law and the Prophets, known as the Targums. These were intended to convey to the Jews a knowledge of the Scriptures; and were faithful translations from the original Hebrew, which those of the Babylonish captivity had forgotten. They were also expository of the original text.

In these versions frequent allusions are made to the second person in the Godhead, as the Creator, the Redeemer, the Mediator, the Only-begotten. "Wherever Jehovah is represented in the Old Testament as holding any intercourse with men, the Targums express the term by the circumlocution of the phrase, 'The Word of Jehovah.'" The *Word*, or the *Memra* of the Paraphrasts, and the *Logos* of the Greek, is applied throughout to the several characters imputed to the second person in the Godhead. Herein the Gnostics differed from the Scriptures of the Old Testament; from the Paraphrases, and from the Gospel of John. The apostle therefore, must have used the term not in a philosophical sense, but as it was clearly understood in the sacred writings with which he must have been intimately acquainted. He wrote by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and not by the wisdom of a vain and mystical philosophy.

The Gospel of John was not a transcript of the Platonic system; but of the theology of the Jewish people, as communicated by God, through his inspired servants. The *Logos* of the New Testament is the *Dabar Jehovah* of the Old; whom John affirms to be, not only the Creator, but the only begotten of the Father; the light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, Jesus Christ, the Messiah and Redeemer. The inspired writer concludes in these words: "These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." In his first epistle, he declares that to be the spirit of anti-Christ which denies that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh.

Paul, in his Epistles, frequently alludes to the doctrines of the Gnostics in the expressive phrases of, fables; endless genealogies; foolish questions; philosophy and vain deceit; after the tradition of men; after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. He affirms the resurrection of the dead as the foundation of the Chris-

tian's hope, and that Christ had risen and had become the first fruits of them that slept.

Having given a sketch of the heretical doctrines which disturbed the harmony of the Church in the time of the apostles, it will be proper to resume the narration of the events connected with its history and government, to the conclusion of the first century.

The history of the Christian Church, except so much of it as may be drawn from the Apocalypse, terminates in the Scriptures of the New Testament about the year 67. There is no positive statement in those sacred records of the organization of a church in Rome. That there were Christian associations in that city at the time when Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, or A. D. 58; there can be no doubt, but we have no data by which we may, with safety, conclude that these societies had received spiritual aid and instruction from the apostles. We are not informed of Evangelists having been sent to them, "to set in order the things that are wanting, and to ordain Elders." That Paul was there martyred in 66 or 67, may be supposed probable from the tenor of his second Epistle to Timothy. The circumstances which establish the probability of this event, give to the subsequent assumption that he was, a degree of credibility which should preclude a contradiction. It cannot, however, be inserted in sober history as an unquestionable fact. The names mentioned in Paul's second Epistle to Timothy, who, with the *brethren*, sent their salutations to that Evangelist, are Roman or Gentile names. This authorizes the belief that the apostle had organized Gentile Churches, although there is no direct statement of his having done so.

How far Peter participated in the propagation of the Gospel in the western provinces of the Roman empire, history has given us no authentic information. That he was ever in the Capital has been denied by Scaliger, Salmasius, Spanheim, and other writers of high distinction for their erudition and literary labors. On this point the sacred records are profoundly silent. All the evidence transmitted to us on this subject has no higher credibility attached to it than the assertion of the early fathers of the Church; and it will be seen in the sequel, that their statements are generally of a character not implicitly to be relied upon.

These remarks very properly precede an inquiry into the first organization of the Christian Church in Rome. A writer of deep historical research, who was Chaplain in ordinary to Charles II., and whose episcopal prejudices are well known, has shown that, "the account which Bellarmine and Baronius have given of Peter's being in Rome is irreconcilable with the History of the Apostles' acts recorded by Luke." "What foundation," he remarks, "the story of Peter's being five and twenty years Bishop of Rome has in antiquity, I find not." Those writers were cardinals in the sixteenth century, and were bitter enemies of Protestantism, as they were

also bigoted papists. "The errors which they committed are not imputable," says Dr. Cave, to whose writings I have referred, "so much to their want of seeing them, as to the unhappy necessity of defending those unsound principles which they had undertaken to maintain." He then directly charges Jerome, who flourished in the fourth century, with the fraudulent act of inserting in his translation of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, a statement which is not in the original, "that Peter continued five and twenty years Bishop of Rome." "Nor indeed," continues Dr. Cave, "does Eusebius any where positively affirm Peter to have been Bishop of Rome, but only that he preached the Gospel there." But admitting that Paul organized a Gentile, and Peter a Jewish Christian Church in Rome, were they diocesan bishops of their respective churches, as papists have affirmed? and who were their successors?

Two dioceses extending over the same territory, and each at the same time under its respective bishop, presents an anomaly in ecclesiastical history. But it has been sufficiently shown that no office of that distinction existed in the Christian Church at that early period, and modern writers have been referred to, who have conceded this. In further confirmation of the correctness of this statement, the fathers themselves have admitted it. Jerome says, that, "A presbyter is the same as a bishop, and originally, the churches were governed by the joint council of the presbyters," also, "Let bishops know that they are greater than presbyters, rather by custom than by the real appointment of the Lord," and, "Among the ancients, presbyters and bishops were the same." Tertullian, a writer of profound learning, in the second century, states, that "Certain approved elders, (presbyters) preside over the ordinances of public worship, and the government of the Church." Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea, says, that "In elders is vested the power of baptizing, imposition of hands, and ordination." Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, in the fourth century, asserts, that "The presbyters were at first called bishops." Theodoret, Bishop of Cyprus, in the fifth century, makes the same declaration. In conclusion, it may be stated, that Dr. Mosheim, as well versed in ecclesiastical history as the writer of any age or nation, has stated, that "In the first century the rulers of the Church were called either presbyters or bishops, which two titles are in the New Testament undoubtedly applied to the same order of men." Paul and Peter then, admitting that they organized churches in the city of Rome, which is still a matter of controversy, exercised no other or higher jurisdiction than that which appertained to them as Episcopal presbyters. Who were their successors?

On this question we are involved in a labyrinth of difficulties, which the learning, the indefatigable researches, and subtle contrivances of the popish writers, have not succeeded in unraveling. "The writers of the Roman church," says Dr. Cave, "how great

word soever they speak of the constant and uninterrupted succession of St. Peter's chair, are yet involved in an inextricable labyrinth about the succession of the four first bishops of that See; scarce two of them of any note bringing in the same account." To substantiate this it may be stated, that Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, in the second century, enumerates the first successors in the following order—"Linus, made bishop by Paul and Peter; he was succeeded by Anacletus; whose successor was Clement." Tertullian places Clement the first in the order after the apostles. The compiler of the apostolic constitutions, a work which first appeared in the fourth century, says: "Linus was ordained bishop of Rome by St. Paul, and Clement by St. Peter." Each being, at the same time, the bishop; one of the Gentile, and the other of the Jewish church.¹

From A. D. 66, the history of the Church is but a chronicle of supposititious events; a compilation of legends, the productions of the monasteries, and of the superstitious fancies of the clergy. The few who wrote with any claims to distinction for genius or learning, confined their literary labors to a vindication of the Christian religion, against the attacks of the pagans. Eusebius, who compiled his ecclesiastical history in the beginning of the fourth century, complains of the scantiness of materials for executing a work which was demanded by the increasing influence of the Church. About two hundred and fifty years had transpired from the date of the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul to the first efforts to reduce to a systematic form, from credible authorities, the series of events connected with the progress of the Church. Within a period of such an extent, and in an age of ignorance and religious superstition, with the evidences we have of the little interest in preserving the memorials of the times; we cannot expect to find records of an unquestionable character, from which an authentic history might be compiled. The Christians formed a distinct community within themselves, until the conversion of Constantine; and the annals of

¹ "Eusebius declares that Linus was the first bishop of Rome after the martyrdom of Paul and Peter. Again, that Peter was the first bishop of Antioch. Again, that Erodus was the first bishop of Antioch. Damaseus, bishop of Rome, asserts that Peter came to Rome in the beginning of Nero's reign; and sat there twenty-five years. Nero reigned from A. D. 54 to 68. This places the period of his martyrdom in the first year of the reign of Titus, or A. D. 79; ten years after the destruction of Jerusalem. If Peter came to Rome in the year 54, and he was martyred in the last year of Nero's reign, as other writers have affirmed, he could not have been bishop of Rome longer than fourteen years.

Origen says, that he had read in the works of a martyr, that Ignatius was the second bishop of Antioch after Peter. Jerome declares, on the other hand, that Ignatius was the third bishop of Antioch after Peter.

These instances prove that the fathers, however sincere, and however satisfactory their testimony concerning facts which passed under their own eyes; yet received traditionary accounts loosely; and both believed and recorded much of what took place before their time, without truth or evidence." Dwight's Theology, vol. 4, p. 240.

the empire, previous to that event, reflect no light upon the internal affairs of the church.

There are, however, other reasons for questioning the truth of the statements, doubtless they are under this view, which the authorities of the papal church have submitted to the credulity of the world. Few of the writings of the ecclesiastics of the first three centuries have been preserved; and Eusebius has recorded their names and the titles of their works, which was all that remained of them when he compiled his history. The Apologies of Justin, the martyr; the five Books of Irenæus, against the Heresies in the second century; the Miscellanies, and Pedagogue of Clement of the Alexandrine school; the Refutation of Hermogenes, a Gnostic, by Tertullian; the treatise of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, on the Vanity of Idols; who, although himself an aspiring prelate, treated with contempt the claims of Stephen, bishop of Rome, to a supremacy over the Christian Church; the seven Books of Arnobius against the Gentiles; the Dialogue of Minurius Felix, under the title of Octavius, in reply to the reproaches of the pagans against the Christians; and fragments of the writings of Origen, the disciple of Ammonius and of Clement, and the compiler of the justly celebrated Hexapla¹—these comprise nearly all of the writings extant of that period, which have obtained a reputation as the productions of genius and learning; but they are not of an historical character.

Many of the writings which have been attributed to the fathers of that age are now acknowledged by the papists themselves as forgeries of a later period, and are unworthy of credit. Such as—the “Apostolical Constitutions,” supposed to have been compiled by Clement, one of the immediate successors to the chair of St. Peter, but rejected as a spurious production of the fourth century; the “Apostles’ Creed,” which, although received as containing the doctrines of faith by Episcopal churches, have been correctly pronounced to be the work of a much later date, and probably of the third century; the Gospels of St. Peter, of Barnabas, and others, condemned by Jerome as forgeries. These examples might be multiplied.

But a more serious evil perhaps than these, arose from the falsifications and corruptions of the acknowledged writings of the early fathers, by those who, not correctly understanding the originals introduced in their manuscript copies erroneous transcripts; and from this cause, and often from intentional misconstructions, vitiated productions were circulated, which in the course of time were received as correct representations of the original work. It is well known, that at a much later period than that to which we have immediate reference, forgeries and supposititious authorities, were appealed to

¹Daille on the Fathers.

by the prelates of the Romish church to substantiate their claims to spiritual sovereignty. That such false pretenses were more frequently and more boldly resorted to in an age of ignorance and credulity, we may readily believe, without the positive evidences of the fact on record. What confidence can be placed in the writings transmitted to us as the productions of the first centuries of the Church, when Jerome, who flourished in the beginning of the fifth century, distinguished in the world for the depth of his learning, and sainted in the Church for the imputed piety of his character, confesses that in his translation of Origen, "He had cut away that which was dangerous, and had left only that which was useful;" and that, in the Latin version of Eusebius from the original Greek, "he omitted what he conceived was not worth remembering, and that he had in truth altered the greater part of his work." In the treatise of Augustine, "*De civitate dei*," an interpolation has been introduced, expressing his belief in the fabulous existence of purgatory; which opinion is not expressed in the ancient and authentic copies of the work.¹ His ideas on that subject were indefinite and obscure; and it is well known, that, the doctrine of purgatory was not a settled article of faith in the popish church before the pontificate of Gregory the Great; about the close of the sixth century. This spurious and fraudulent insertion of a sentence was made to attach an antiquity to the doctrine which did not appertain to it.

In conclusion, it may be remarked, that the chronicles of the Romish church have been corrupted by forgeries, mistranslations, and perversions of original texts, from the first century to the present day; and it is unsafe to attach to its authorities any degree of credit without an evidence of facts derived from other sources. The uninterrupted line of succession on which that church has founded its pretensions to exclusive spiritual prerogatives, is not only fanciful and supposititious, but absolutely false; and has never been established by a clear and unquestionable exhibition of facts. It is evident, from what has been already said, that the first links of this chain were disconnected; and that the difficulty of tracing back its commencement from the apostles has never been removed. This difficulty accompanies the effort throughout the subsequent periods of its history; and, as will appear, the frequent convulsions which broke up the order of the succession, and produced an entire disruption of its ecclesiastical union, would prove the fallacy of the claim at the present day, however closely connected with the apostles the primitive bishops might have been.

The advocates of the divine right of prelacy, compelled by the plain language of the Scriptures to abandon the distinction between presbyters and bishops, which they contended was established in the Church in the life time of the apostles, now found their claim to

¹Daille on the Fathers.

supremacy altogether upon the principle of a direct and uninterrupted succession from the apostles; and exclude from ecclesiastical privileges, those denominations of Christians who pretend not to trace their order of ministers through that line. This ground, however, has been sustained without the plausibility of reason or of fact. This, it has been shown, the prelatical bishops themselves, have been unable to accomplish with any concession but their own, to the justness or the validity of their claim.

The only instance in the sacred records of a succession in the apostleship was the election of Matthias, in the place of Judas who by transgression had fallen. This was the act of the Church, or of the apostles and brethren. He was ordained, (without the imposition of hands,) that he might be a witness with the eleven of the resurrection of Christ. The divine authority, for selecting "one who had companied with them all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among them, beginning from the baptism of John unto that same day that he was taken up from them," was expressly derived from Holy Writ. "For it is written," said Peter, "in the Book of Psalms, his bishopric (or charge,) let another take." It is evident, from the precaution exercised in stating minutely the divine authority for electing a successor, and the qualifications required for taking part in the ministry and the apostleship, that no subsequent succession was intended; and that this was the fulfilment of what the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David had spoken. To speak of an "apostolic succession" subsequent to this, would be to contradict the plain language of the Scriptures.

The apostles were a superior order of ministers. Upon them and the prophets, we are informed by Holy Writ, the Church of Christ was built, He being the chief corner stone. With the death of the apostles that order expired. They laid the foundation and others built upon it; and "Let every man," says Paul, "take heed how he buildeth thereon."

Peculiar powers were imparted to them, which were no doubt intended as public manifestations of their divine commission. They were inspired, and therefore spoke and wrote as the Holy Ghost dictated. They were told, that "Whatsoever they shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever they shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." They were empowered to perform miracles. These were the gifts of God; and were therefore not transmissible to others. No one could assume to exercise these powers, but "he who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God: so that he as God, sitteth in the Temple of God, showing himself that he is God."

But there were also duties imposed upon them, "Go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you

always, even unto the end of the world." This injunction applies to all the faithful ministers of the gospel, to the end of time. In the discharge of these duties then, the apostles were authorized to extend this commission to others; who might exercise all the privileges properly connected with, or arising out of, the necessary discharge of those duties. And this, we are informed by the Scriptures, they did. Preaching and baptizing, administering the sacred ordinances, installing others into the ministerial office by the rite of ordination, attending to the discipline, and exercising a supervision or oversight of the Church, comprise a summary of ministerial duties which devolved upon the presbyters or elders, as well as, upon the apostles. Preaching was undoubtedly the paramount duty; and was so considered. Paul emphatically remarks, "Necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel." "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." The institution of the order of deacons, who administered in the temporal affairs of the Church, was proposed by the apostles, "That they might give themselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word." With the modern prelatical bishops of the papal church, who give themselves up entirely to the acquisition of wealth and the exercise of power, this has become a subordinate duty. When mentioned in the Scriptures, by comparison with the supervisory charge intrusted to the ministry, (and this is now assumed to be exclusively appurtenant to the episcopal office,) it is said that the *elders* who rule well are worthy of double honor, but especially those who labor in the word and doctrine. Paul, in his address to the *elders* of the church in Ephesus, particularly enjoins upon them the duty of *feeding* the Church of God over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers, *episcopous*, or bishops. From the whole tenor of the sacred writings then, we are forced to the conclusion, that the ordained ministers of Jesus Christ administered the established ordinances of the Church, exercised discipline and organized christian associations or churches, as mere subsidiary acts in their fulfilment of the great and paramount purpose of their commission, the propagation of the divine truths of the gospel.

But it may be here inquired—What was the rite of ordination? By whom was it administered? And what importance was attached to the ceremony of a formal installation into the ministerial office? in the primitive or apostolic church.

Matthias was ordained an apostle by the eleven and the brethren casting their lots. This was an act of the whole Church, which consisted then of about one hundred and twenty persons. This mode of selection was intended as a submission of the choice to God. As a succession to the apostleship could be, by the appointment of the great Head of the Church only, this expression of his will determined the election; and without the ceremony of the imposition of hands, Matthias was numbered with the eleven.

Ordination, as a rite of installation into the ministerial office, is only incidentally alluded to in the Scriptures of the New Testament, except where Paul and Barnabas, who was an itinerant preacher, are said to have ordained them elders in every church; where Titus is directed by Paul to ordain elders in every city, as he had appointed him; and where Paul writes of himself as being ordained (or in the original *placed*) a preacher and an apostle, &c. Paul and Barnabas, by the command of the Holy Ghost, were separated for a particular work to which they were called, and consecrated to that service by the laying on of the hands of certain prophets and teachers. Timothy is charged by Paul, not to neglect the gift which was given to him by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery; and advised, not to lay hands suddenly on any man.

From all which we may infer, that ordination was administered by the imposition of hands, and this was done by the apostles, individually or collectively; by the prophets and teachers; by the evangelists, as were Timothy and Titus, under an authority delegated by an apostle for that especial purpose; or, finally, by the presbytery or an assembly of elders.¹

Timothy and Titus were evangelists, who seemed to have been appointed by Paul after their ordination, to visit the churches and to set in order the things that were wanting. They were considered as more immediately his disciples; occasionally accompanied him in his journeys and missionary labors, and were instructed by him; all of which are expressly stated in his Epistles to them. They are no where alluded to as the diocesan bishops of any church;² and Dr. Whitby, who was a zealous advocate of episcopacy, in its modern sense, declares, that he "Can find nothing in any writer of the first three centuries, concerning the episcopate of Timothy and Titus; nor any intimation that they bore that name." With respect to the ecclesiastical power of the presbytery, Jerome has stated, that "The presbyters of Alexandria (one of the apostolic churches,) ordained their bishops for more than two hundred years." Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, in the close of the first century, writes of the bishops of Magnesia, as of many. Irenæus, of the second century, says, "It behooves us to harken to

¹Firmilian says, "In elders is vested the power of baptizing, imposition of hands, and ordination." Dwight.

²"It is said that Timothy was bishop of Ephesus, and Titus of Crete; and that, as such, Paul directed them to ordain elders or presbyters, in the churches at Ephesus and in Crete. But it cannot be proved, that Timothy was bishop of Ephesus, or Titus bishop of Crete, in any sense, much less in the diocesan sense. The Scriptures say this in no place, and in no manner whatever." Dwight's Theology, vol. 4th, page 242.

²Tim. iv. 5, "Preach the word, be instant in season, out of season, &c.," "do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry," "do thy diligence to come shortly unto me." Such was the language of Paul in his Epistle to Timothy whom he addressed as an evangelist.

those who are presbyters in the Church; who, as we have shown, have their succession from the apostles; who, together with the succession of the episcopate, have received the certain gifts of the truth." To which remark, bishop Stillingfleet, of the seventeenth century refers, when he says, "What strange confusion must this raise in any one's mind, who seeks for a succession of episcopal power over presbyters from the apostles, by the testimony of Irenæus, when he so plainly attributes both the succession to the presbyters, and the episcopacy too, of which he speaks." If then, as Irenæus states, the succession of the ministerial office, and with it the episcopate, was transmitted as late as the second century, through the presbyters in the Church, the rite of ordination must have been administered throughout that time, by the laying on of the hands of the presbyters; and the change which subsequently took place in the administration of that rite by investing the power in a diocesan bishop, was a manifest deviation from the practice and usage of the apostolic church.

I will conclude the remarks on this subject by a quotation from the writings of Clement, who is supposed to have been an immediate successor of Peter in the Church of Rome. "The apostles," says Clement, "knowing by Jesus Christ, that contentions would arise about the name, or on account of the episcopate, or oversight of the Church, constituted bishops (whom he elsewhere speaks of as presbyters, implying one and the same office,) and deacons." Such was the declaration of Clement, expressed in the language of Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians.

History has given no certain data by which we may designate the exact periods of the successive changes in the primitive forms or polity of the Christian Church. The republican features of its original constitution insensibly yielded to those influences which arose from the spirit of the age. In an era of absolute political despotism and of general ignorance, a popular form of government could not be maintained either in a state, or in a religious community united alone by ties of faith and charity. Hence it was that, before the expiration of the first century, we discover the progress of innovations. "Every society," says Gibbon, in his sketch of the primitive churches, "formed within itself a separate and independent republic; and although the most distant of these little states maintained a mutual, as well as, friendly intercourse of letters and deputations, the Christian world was not yet connected by any supreme authority or legislative assembly. Such was the mild and equal constitution by which the Christians were governed more than an hundred years after the death of the apostles."

Before the close of the first century, or at the date of the Apocalypse which is supposed to have been written by John in the year 96, the title of "Angel of the Church" seems to point out a distinction of rank in the ministerial office, as then introduced.

"Bishops, under the name of angels, were already instituted," says Gibbon, "in seven cities of Asia. And yet the Epistle of Clement (which is probably of as ancient a date as the Apocalypse,) does not lead us to discover any traces of episcopacy either at Corinth or Rome."¹

The origin of that title as applied to an officer in the Christian Church, has been traced by Mosheim in his ecclesiastical history. "It was judged necessary," he says, "when the number of presbyters and deacons increased with that of the churches, and the sacred work of the ministry grew more painful and weighty by a number of additional duties, that one man of distinguished gravity and wisdom should preside in the council of presbyters, in order to distribute among his colleagues their several tasks, and to be a centre of union to the whole society. This person was, at first, styled *"the Angel of the Church"* to which he belonged, but was afterwards distinguished by the name of *bishop*, or *inspector*; a name borrowed from the Greek language, and expressing the principal part of the episcopal function, which was to inspect into and superintend the affairs of the Church." "Let none however," continues Mosheim, "confound the bishops of this primitive and golden period of the Church with those of whom we read in the following ages. For, though they were both distinguished by the same name, yet they differed extremely, and that in many respects. A bishop, during the first and second century, was a person who had the care of one Christian assembly, which at that time was, generally speaking, small enough to be contained in a private house. In this assembly he acted, not so much with the authority of a *master*, as with the zeal and diligence of a *faithful servant*."²

This appointment was in conformity with the organization of the Jewish Synagogue; to which, indeed, the apostolic churches bore a remarkable resemblance. *The angel*, or *sheliach zibbor*, selected from among the *archisynagogoi*, or chief rulers of the Synagogue, was by virtue of his appointment, the prime minister of the congregation. He was not a messenger from God to the people, but a messenger from the people to God. In this respect only he seemed to differ in his official character from the angel of the Christian Church, who was considered the ambassador of Christ. Hence the ministering presbyter, *for the time*, in each of the seven Churches of Asia, was addressed as the angel of his Church. Whether this appointment was at first permanent, or as that of the *sheliach zibbor* in the Synagogue, which appears to have been temporary and as the occasion demanded, is uncertain. It was evidently so in the person of the episcopal presbyter;³ on whose death the vacancy was supplied by the suffrage of the whole congregation.

¹Gibbon, chap. 15.

²Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, 1st century.

³The angel of the Church, known afterwards as episcopal presbyter, was entitled bishop. Such was Clement of Rome, &c.

There is, however, a peculiarity in the language of the address contained in the Epistles to the churches which has given rise to the opinion, that there must have been at that time more than one individual, in each of those churches, entitled to the distinctive appellation of angel. The expressions denote a plurality of persons; thus Christ says to the angel of the Church, in Thyatira, "But unto you I say (*Umin de lego,*) and unto the rest in Thyatira, (*kai loipois tois en Thuateirois.*") "I will put upon you (*eph umas,*) none other burden." "But that which ye have (*o echete,*) hold fast (*kratesate,*) till I come." This remark applies also to the epistles addressed to the several churches of Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamos. The only plausible solution of the difficulty is that founded upon the opinion, that at the period referred to, the appointment of a presbyter of distinguished gravity and wisdom, to preside in the council of the Church, was, like that of the Sheliach Zibbor in the Jewish Synagogue, *for the time*; and that there must have been, at the date of the Epistles, a plurality of persons in the several churches so addressed, who had successively occupied the seat of presiding officer. John, by direction of the Holy Spirit, addresses his letter, not to the angel, or minister by name; nor to the bishop, as a diocesan, which he would doubtless have done had there been at the time, a prelate of that distinction and rank; but to the angel for the time being, directly, and to those, indirectly, who may have officiated in that capacity. This fact is of importance, only, as exhibiting the mild and limited form of episcopacy as introduced at that period, into the Church. Whether this appointment, however, was only for the time, or during life, it was an acknowledged innovation; and demands our attention as the incipient step in the institution of prelacy.

Gibbon remarks, in reference to the policy of this measure, that "The advantages of this episcopal form of government, which appears to have been introduced before the end of the first century, were so obvious and so important for the future greatness, as well as the present peace of Christianity; it was adopted without delay by all the societies, which were already scattered over the empire; had acquired in a very early period the sanction of antiquity; and is still revered by the most powerful churches, both of the East and of the West, as a primitive and even as a divine¹ establishment." "After we have passed the difficulties of the first century," he continues, "we find the episcopal government universally established, till it was interrupted by the republican genius of the Swiss and German reformers." Such was the new organization imparted to the Christian Church at the close of the first century. From this innovation in the primitive institution, we shall trace the successive changes which occurred through the several succeeding ages to the sixteenth century. At each step as we advance, from

¹ A similar concession has been made to the claims of royalty to a divine origin.

this period, we shall discover new features continually impressed upon the ecclesiastical constitution, until, in the course of time, there remained scarcely a vestige of its original spirituality and form.

In the year 100, the Apostle John died in Ephesus. He had returned from his exile on the Island of Patmos, after the death of Domitian, in 96. With that century closed the apostolic age of the Church.

CHAPTER III.

A CHURCH of Christ, is any society of believing Christians, associated for the worship of God agreeably to the doctrines of the Gospel.¹ When Christian churches were first instituted, as in the days of the apostles, such societies must frequently have been small in number, and confined even to single households. This we know was the character of some of them. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, sends his salutations to Priscilla and Aquila, and “to the church that is in their house.” In his Epistle to the Collossians, he mentions “the church which is in the house of Nymphas; and in that to Philemon, he bestows his benedictions on “the church in his house.” In these several instances the original word which has been translated *house*, is *oikos*. Calmet remarks, that “In the New Testament there are two Greek words which the translators have rendered both *house* and *household*. The first, (*oikos*,) signifies the immediate family of the householder; the other, (*oikia*,) includes his servants also, and they are not interchanged, in respect to persons, in the original.”²

Christians were not permitted to erect buildings for public worship before the third century. They must therefore, from necessity have convened in private dwellings; and in times of persecution, in places of retirement and seclusion. This occasioned numerous associations in the populous cities, such as were Rome, Ephesus, Antioch, &c., each of which constituted a separate and independent church, having its presbyter or elder who had the episcopal charge or oversight of his own flock, and its deacons who ministered to their temporal wants. That there were many churches, at this early period, in the several cities in which Chris-

¹ Acts ii. 1—44, 47; and xi. 1, 21.

² Calmet further remarks on this distinction, that “We never read of *Oikia* as being baptized, but of *Oikos* only; the children following their parents in this rite; but not the servants their proprietors, master or mistress.”

tianity was planted, is evident from the general tenor of the language of the Scriptures. Paul, writing to the Romans from Corinth, says, "The Churches of Christ salute you;" having a manifest reference to those in that city.

Each society of Christians formed within itself a separate and distinct episcopate. Their original structure fully verifies the maxim, "*No Church without a bishop.*" Although separate and co-ordinate branches of the visible Catholic Church of Christ, they were assimilated by a common faith, having one Lord, one faith, one baptism; and preserved the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. "Independence and equality formed the basis of their internal constitution." The infant congregations were severally governed by their own presbyters. Although distinct in their organization, they were necessarily united in all matters of a general interest; and in their deliberations and decisions of questions which would arise in the administration of their government and ordinances, in the settlement of controversies on rites and doctrines, and in the conduct and management of their temporal and spiritual affairs, an assembly in council of all the churches in a city would frequently be required. This constituted them one community, and under this collective title they are spoken of in Scripture as *the Church*. In the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles it is stated, that a controversy arose between the Jewish and Gentile converts in Antioch about the observance of the rite of circumcision. The question was referred to *the Church* in Jerusalem. The apostles and elders of that city convened to deliberate on the matter, and the final adjudication of the case was made by "*the apostles, elders, and brethren,*" who submitted their decision to "*the brethren in Antioch*;" and when the messengers arrived in Antioch, "they gathered the multitude together," and delivered to them the epistle from Jerusalem. This proceeding exhibits the true character of the ecclesiastical institutions in the time of the apostles.—When Paul would communicate to the churches in Ephesus his apostolic counsel and spiritual instructions, "he called together the elders." Descending to a later period, we have the authority of the historian Gibbon, for the statement, that "The epistle of Clement (which is probably of as ancient a date as the Apocalypse) does not lead us to discover any traces of episcopacy either at Corinth or Rome."¹

About the commencement of the second century, then, we may date the earliest innovation in the government of the Church as instituted by the apostles.

It does not appear that, in the council at Jerusalem, a presiding officer directed its deliberations and controlled its proceedings; so fearful were the apostles that a precedent might lead to future contentions for supremacy in the Church. There is no doubt, how-

¹Diocesan Episcopacy was here referred to by the historian. Gibbon, ch. xv.

ever, that the incipient advances to power, in the clergy, may be traced from the appointment of a presbyter or elder to preserve order in the primary ecclesiastical assemblies; and afterward to enforce their resolutions. These appointments were at first but temporary; and the presbyter so selected, either for his known piety and learning, or from a reverence due to his advanced age, was, *for the time*, the first among his equals. The tenure of office eventually became permanent; and in each city, there was an officer in the Church distinguished by the title of *Episcopal Presbyter*.¹ "It was under these circumstances," says Gibbon, "that the lofty title of bishop, began to raise itself above the humble appellation of presbyter; and while the latter remained the most natural distinction for the members of every Christian senate, the former was appropriated to the dignity of its *new president*." "Such," he continues, "was the mild and equal constitution by which the Christians were governed, more than an hundred years after the death of the apostles."

This was the first perceptible change in the republican feature of the government; and the powers which had previously been exercised, either by the several elders within their respective congregations, or by the joint action of all the churches within a city, or by the elders convened in *cætu presbyterorum*, were under this new modification vested in an ecclesiastical head. So insidious is the first effort to usurp authority. The episcopal presbyters, at first, modestly claimed but a priority of rank among their equals, and acknowledged themselves to be, "the honorable servants of a free people." Vacancies in the newly instituted episcopacy, were filled by the suffrages of all the members of the churches. *Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus?* was the language of the people; and from them the bishops admitted the derivation of their ecclesiastical powers. This sacerdotal character of the laity, to use a more modern phraseology, had been acquiesced in under the practices of the Church, from the election of Matthias to the succession in the

¹As the institution of prophets became useless, and even pernicious, their powers were withdrawn, and their office abolished. The public functions of religion were solely intrusted to the established ministers of the Church, the bishops and the presbyters; two appellations, which, in their origin, appear to have distinguished the same office and the same order of persons. The name of *Presbyter* was expressive of their age, or rather of their gravity and wisdom. The title of *Bishop* denoted their inspection over the faith and manners of the Christians who were committed to their pastoral care. In proportion to the respective numbers of the faithful, a larger or smaller number of these *Episcopal Presbyters* guided each infant congregation with equal authority and with united counsels.

The order of public deliberations soon introduced the office of a president, invested at least with the authority of collecting the sentiments and of executing the resolutions of the assembly. A regard for the public tranquillity, which would so frequently have been interrupted by annual or by occasional elections, induced the primitive Christians to constitute an honorable and perpetual magistracy, and to choose one of the wisest and most holy among their presbyters, to execute during his life, the duties of their ecclesiastical governor. Gibbon, vol. I, p. 427.

apostleship; and the Scriptures declared, that "Christ had made them kings and priests unto God," and, that "they are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood."

About the close of the second century, occurred the next important change in the ecclesiastical government.¹ Provincial assemblies were introduced, for the adjudication of all cases which might arise in the several episcopates; and for promoting the general interests of the Christian Church. The general welfare of the Christian communities, now extensively diffused over the provinces of the Roman empire, required this new organization; as the more circumscribed interests of the individual churches in the cities, had led to the institution of presbyterial assemblies. And as from these, arose the first model of a limited diocesan episcopacy, so, from the provincial synods, or councils, arose a new and a higher order of bishops, the Metropolitans. As in the former, the equality of all the presbyters was subverted by the elevation of one of them to the episcopal chair; so, in the latter, the parity among the episcopal presbyters, within the same province, was overthrown, by investing one of these with superior powers, and extending his jurisdiction over all the churches represented in the provincial council. This new system originated with the Eastern churches; which was suggested by the political confederacies which had united the Grecian republics. These ecclesiastical assemblies were called synods, in the East, and councils in the West. These newly created bishops assumed the title of Metropolitan, from their seats being in the principal cities of the provinces. Such was the form of government at the close of the second century; and its features were not essentially changed until the fourth century; after the conversion of Constantine. "In each province of the empire, there was one bishop who claimed a priority of rank over all others and exercised supreme jurisdiction;" and, "in the larger cities, there was, at the head of each church, a person to whom was given the title of bishop, who ruled this sacred community with a certain sort of authority, in concert, however, with the body of presbyters; and consulting in matters of moment, the opinion and the voices of the whole assembly." "This," says Mosheim, "appears incontestable from the most authentic records, and the best histories of this and the following centuries."²

As under the first change a contest for supremacy had been carried on between the several episcopal presbyters of the same province, under this new modification, the field of spiritual empire became more enlarged. Each provincial bishop endeavored to obtain a superiority in rank over his equals; and the struggle for pre-

¹Gibbon, chap. xv.

²At the close of the second century, may be dated the institution of diocesan episcopacy. The outlines of the episcopal government were established at an earlier period by the appointment of episcopal presbyters.

eminence was unabated, and conducted with unwonted acrimony and zeal. Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, were the great competitors for the prize; and the removal of the seat of empire to the East, raised in the city of Constantinople, a new and formidable aspirant, which long disputed with imperial Rome, the ambitious, but unfounded claims to universal sovereignty. The prelates of the Church, acquired an importance of character, and an influence in ecclesiastical affairs, in proportion to the wealth, the population, and the political weight of the cities, in which they resided. Impatient under an equal distribution of the honors, dignities, and powers they severally enjoyed, each strove to be without a rival; and advanced pretensions, sanctioned neither by divine authority, nor by claims founded on prescription. The progress in the revolution, which was now impressing successive changes on the government of the Church, was marked by those peculiar features which characterize the political events connected with the subversion of all free institutions. The gradation from a pure republic to absolute despotism, unaccompanied with violence, or the intervention of active physical force, may invariably be traced through the usurpations of a minority.

Before the expiration of this century, the heads of the Church, acknowledging no longer the people, as the legitimate source or fountain of all ecclesiastical power, exercised their prerogatives as of divine right. A comparison was artfully drawn between the orders of the clergy established in the Christian Church, and the priesthood instituted under the Old Dispensation. The last features of the form of synagogue worship, had been obliterated by the introduction of provincial dioceses, and the imposing ceremonies and rites of the temple, were substituted. A radical change in the structure, as delivered by the apostles, was finally accomplished. The Metropolitan became the proper representative of the Jewish high-priest, who officiated in the temple; the presbyter was the image of the ordinary priest, who served at the altar; and the deacon occupied the station formerly allotted to the Levite, who discharged the inferior ministerial duties in the service of the Temple.¹ In the character of the high-priest, as the oracle of divine truth, and the head of the Church, the Metropolitan bishop was exalted above the people, and assumed to himself, a title and dignity more excellent than those of an apostle. He was no longer a com-presbyter, (*sumpresbuteros*), as Peter declared himself to be; but a high-priest, who might enter into the "Holy of Holies," to make atonement for the sins of the whole people; and with the "Urim and Thummim," disclose the secret counsels of God. What a contrast does the picture, as yet in its outlines, present in a com-

¹Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, 2d century. Hence arose the clerical character of the deacons.

parison with the plain and simple lineaments of the Christian Church in its primitive form!

These changes not only subverted the government of the Apostolic Church; but perverted and corrupted the spirit of divine worship. Jesus Christ has declared himself to be the "High-Priest over the House of God." If, then, it be insisted on, that the Jewish Church was truly a type of the Christian Church, for which supposition, however, there is not the shadow of authority in Scripture; the Protestant churches which have rejected the episcopal order, have adopted a system, conforming in all its features, with that which was its type or representative. They "have a high-priest, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens; a minister of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man." His ministers of the gospel correspond with the ordinary priests of the Temple; and the analogy is completed by the appointment of deacons who fulfil the duties customarily imposed upon the Levites.

When our Savior had confirmed the covenant, and caused the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, the rites and ceremonies of the Temple were forever obliterated; and the office of the Levitical priesthood was abolished. Having appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself, and by one offering, perfected forever them that are sanctified; the system of human intercession passed away; and every sinner in his own person, and for himself, might thereafter, with boldness, enter into the Holiest, by a new and living way, having his heart sprinkled from an evil conscience. Not only was the priesthood abolished; but Christ, who is now our only High-Priest, sprang from a tribe of which nothing was said concerning a priesthood, and thereby indicated a perpetual abrogation of a succession. He alone makes intercession for sinners. As under the old dispensation then, reconciliation for sin was obtained through the officiating priest, or minister of the sanctuary, and by the sacrifices which were presented by him at the altar, atonement was made for transgressions of the law; so under a new and better covenant, we have through Christ, or his body, the Church, access by one spirit unto the Father. Of this body, all spiritual believers are members; and they are members one of another.

The character of a priest, or minister, through whom only a communication is opened between God and the transgressor, cannot be recognized in the Church of Christ. No human mediation enters into this simple and glorious scheme of salvation; and the assumption of such an office is not only a perversion of the Spirit of the Gospel; but is nothing less than an attempt to usurp the throne of the Almighty. The apostles, themselves, never pretended to have attained to a nearer approach to God than other men, except by faith and evangelical obedience; for, says Paul, "The righteousness of God by faith in Jesus Christ, is unto all and upon

all them that believe; for there is no difference. For all have sinned." Believers are called, "a spiritual house," "a holy priesthood," to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God, through Jesus Christ, and no longer through the mediation of a priest.

Such is the Scriptural plan of obtaining acceptance with God, divested of all the pompous ceremonies, and now unmeaning rites of the Temple worship. "Believe, and be baptized, and you shall be saved," is the plain, comprehensive, and intelligible language of Scripture. Hence it was, that the apostles, who were the ambassadors of Christ, in his stead, beseeching sinners to be reconciled to God, adopted the most simple forms of government and worship, in building up the churches of Christ. There were no tabernacles, with the golden candlestick, the table, the shew-bread, and the golden censer; no altar for sacrifices; no high-priest to officiate in the sanctuary; no other ceremonies in the consecration to sacred orders, than the simple imposition of the hands by co-ordinate ministers, (or by the presbytery;)¹ no sacrifices prescribed; no succession to the priestly-office declared; no holy garments for glory and for beauty; of gold, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen; no ephod; brodered robes; nor mitre, with its holy crown of pure gold, inscribed with "Holiness to the Lord;" no sacerdotal dignities, nor pontifical prerogatives. These were the "beggarly elements" under the covenant of works; but we are now under a covenant of grace.

The introduction of the system of the Jewish priesthood, and engrafting it upon the Christian Church, corrupted the purity of worship; and was the foundation of the unscriptural doctrine of justification by works, which eventually obliterated all traces of vital religion. It was the restoration of the terms of acceptance with God, which had been declared by his word, inefficacious to salvation; as by the deeds of the law shall no one be justified.—This was the natural tendency, of establishing the forms of the Temple worship, instituting its orders of priesthood, and requiring an observance of the rites and ceremonies used in its public services. Altars were erected in the churches, in imitation of those employed in the service of the Jewish Temple; the sacrifice of the mass followed, which has been declared to be "a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice offered unto God, for the quick and the dead;" tithes and first-fruits were the natural accompaniments of this innovation; the use of incense was introduced; the officiating priests, who were so called after the offices of the Temple, imitated that Jewish order in their costly and gorgeous vestments, and the sacerdotal ornament of the mitre, in time, became one of the insignia of official dignity; at a later period, appeared the triple crown, the tiara of the Jewish high-priest, encircling the brows of him who has risen above all other dignitaries in the Church of

¹ 1 Timothy, chap. iv. 14.

Christ, who, "as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God."

The Pharisaical doctrine of the merits of works of righteousness superseded the scriptural doctrine of justification by faith; and insinuated itself into the Church, with that train of evils which followed the introduction of the Jewish system of worship under the abrogated dispensation of the law. Hence, immediately after, arose a sect of religious, but superstitious devotees; who, distinguished as *Ascetics*, claimed the merit of extraordinary sanctity, by the austerity of their habits, and the mortification of every sensual feeling. With their works of perfect obedience and of supererogation, they mingled the sublimated notions of Platonism; and whilst they thus humbled the pride and lusts of the flesh, by an extreme abstinence, they endeavored to elevate the soul, by abstracted contemplations of the divine essence, of the excellencies and perfections of the Supreme Being. Deriving their tenets from two corrupt sources, the hypocritical Pharisees, and the Pagan philosophers, they adopted a maxim which became an article of faith in the Church; that "it is not only lawful, but praiseworthy, to deceive, and even to use the expedient of a lie, in order to advance the cause of truth and piety."¹

Thus were the fatal consequences of a departure from the original simplicity in the forms of government and worship, of the Christian Church, developed at an early period. But the evils multiplied and enlarged. The progress in the career of vice, was uninterrupted, with the exception of a few ineffectual efforts to stem the torrent of corruption; and the usurpations of the hierarchy, commenced in this century, continually advanced, until an absolute despotism was established. Rome, the seat of the political empire, was an early aspirant to the sovereignty in the spiritual kingdom.

Towards the close of this century, arose the controversy on the time of celebrating the Paschal Feast, between the Asiatic and Western churches. Each provincial diocese exercised the right of determining for itself; but imperial Rome, from whose Capitol were promulgated the laws which governed the fairest portions of the known world, asserted an equal supremacy over the ecclesiastical provinces within the empire. Victor, who then occupied the episcopal chair, issued his mandate to the bishops of the East, to conform with the West in their observance of Easter. To this imperious order the Asiatics responded in the language of contempt; and with a becoming spirit of independence, peremptorily refused a compliance, and expressed their determination not to depart from the custom of their ancestors, in the time of celebrating this religious festival. Victor pronounced their excommunication from a fellowship with the other churches of Christendom. But

¹Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, 2d century.

his thunders were regarded, neither by the Asiatic nor the Western churches; and the presumption of Victor was humbled by a general disapproval of his violent and insulting measure. The controversy here ceased, and each party retained their own customs until the fourth century; when, in 325, the council of Nice established an uniform time of celebrating that feast in all the churches.

In this century the sacrament of the Lord's supper, was administered to all communicants alike; and if any were absent from sickness, portions of the consecrated bread and wine were sent to them. It was believed to be essential to salvation; and therefore was administered to infants, immediately after their baptism. This opinion was entertained, for many centuries, by some of the most distinguished fathers of the Church; by Augustine, Pope Innocent I., Cyprian, and Maldonate who also affirms, that "it was the opinion of the first six centuries."¹

In this, and the following century, the corrupt influences of the oriental philosophy, inflicted a serious evil upon the Church, by the perversion of its doctrines. A closer alliance was formed between them by the popularity of a new sect which arose and assumed the name of *Platonics*. Their system was formed by blending together, the opinions and principles of other sects, which they attempted to harmonize under one head; and they were thence called *Eclectics*. Origen adopted the tenets of this sect; and from this source, "The doctors," says Mosheim, "began to introduce their subtle and obscure erudition into the religion of Jesus." From these arose the mystics, and the societies of monks; and hence, undoubtedly, originated many foolish ceremonies in the Church, which are still religiously observed. Among these may be mentioned, the custom of praying towards the East, which originated with the Magi, and was from them introduced into the Christian worship; as were, in the following ages, many other rites practiced by those pagan idolaters. It is evident that the Church, from the period of a change in its government, rapidly apostatized from the ancient faith, and at every step descended still lower into the abyss of heathenism and superstition. At the close of this century flourished Irenæus and Tertullian.²

The general outlines of the government of the Church, as established in the preceding century, were not sensibly changed in this, the third century; except perhaps in this respect, that the pre-eminence was universally conceded to the bishops of Rome, of Antioch, and of Alexandria, as the heads of what were called Apostolic Churches. In the exercise of any peculiar prerogatives, however, their powers were not only questioned, but in many instances, were absolutely denied. In the controversy, which arose on the ques-

¹Daille, on the right use of the Fathers.

²"*Nulla Ecclesia sine Episcopo*, has been a fact as well as a maxim since the time of Tertullian and Irenæus." Gibbon, chap. xv.

tion of baptizing heretics, Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage, disregarded the menacing language of Stephen, the bishop of Rome; who insisted upon an admission into the Church, of all recanting heretics, without a second administration of that ordinance. The Eastern churches, including those in Africa, received them as catechumens, who were not entitled to full membership before a baptism, on their new profession of faith. This pre-eminence, therefore, was more of distinction than of prerogatives. From this distinction, certain privileges were claimed, and even acquiesced in, but they were uncertain and undefined; and hence, arose frequent angry controversies, in which the parties acknowledging no common tribunal of adjudication, maintained with obstinacy, their respective opinions. The peace of the Church, was, throughout this century, disturbed by the conflicting claims of these aspiring prelates; not only by their frequent, but unsuccessful attempts to extend their provincial jurisdictions; but, by the restrictions which they successively drew around the inferior orders of the clergy within their respective dioceses, and by their continued encroachments on the privileges of the laity.

Each bishop became an absolute sovereign within his province; and in the populous and opulent cities, a style of extravagance, and habits of luxury and indolence, were introduced. "A throne," says Mosheim, "surrounded with ministers, exalted above his equals, the servant of the meek and humble Jesus; and sumptuous garments dazzled the eyes and the minds of the multitude into an ignorant veneration for their arrogated authority." The example of their spiritual lords, seduced the clergy to imitate their splendor and their princely exhibitions of wealth, as well as their follies and their vices. Each order became contaminated; and all traces of religion were vanishing from the Church, from the general neglect of the sacred duties of the clerical office. To supply the vacancies in the functions of the several orders, inferior grades of offices were established, and upon these devolved the duties in the administration of the ordinances, and in the preaching of the word. In this century were introduced into the Church, readers, sub-deacons, acolythi, exorcists, &c. &c., whose services were required to relieve their indolent superiors.

The clergy were not forbidden to marry; but, a character of peculiar sanctity was attached to those, who refrained from wedlock, and publicly abjured the nuptial state. To exhibit in a more exemplary manner the virtue of their self-denial, and their complete triumph over the temptations of sensual indulgences, they lived on terms of the most intimate association with those women who had made solemn vows of perpetual chastity,¹ professing to maintain such delicate intercourse in perfect purity and innocence.

¹These holy concubines were called by the Greeks, *Suneisaktoi*; and by the Latins, *Mulieres subintroductæ*." Their true characters were scarcely equivocal.

Such was the lamentable condition of the Church, within a century from the institution of diocesan episcopacy. This degeneracy sprung up and flourished amidst the severest persecutions, by the Roman emperors, and presents a moral phenomenon in the history of man. Within that period successive bishops of Rome were martyred. The character of the Christians, as a sect, was calumniated by men of influence in the state, and by the distinguished writers of the age. Rome was still pagan; and the secular arm was wielded against those who professed the Christian faith. They were not permitted to erect sanctuaries of public worship; but assembled in private houses, and frequently in secret, around the tombs of their martyrs. Under all these severe restrictions, such was the inevitable tendency of the form of ecclesiastical government to despotism and to moral corruption, that the controlling power of the empire was unable to check the abuses which sprung up under it. The Church was destitute of a physical force to command obedience to its mandates; but it exerted, notwithstanding, a moral energy over the minds of the people which continually extended the sphere of its authority. The splendor and the corruption which circled around the episcopal throne, gave to it a factitious charm which fascinated the vulgar and the superstitious. Victor, who thundered his anathemas against the ecclesiastical provinces of all Asia, was soon after made sensible of his imbecility, by an edict from Severus, for his martyrdom. Irenæus, who replied to Victor in a synodical epistle, in the name of the Gallic churches, shared the fate of his adversary. Stephen, who issued a sentence of excommunication against the bishop of Carthage, and the Asiatic and African churches, in a tone of imperial authority, was beheaded by an order from the emperor, Valerian. Such was the weakness, and the spiritual pride of those aspiring prelates.—Cyprian, although of a meek and amiable temper, and who, to the haughty language of Stephen, replied in a spirit of Christian humility, was, like that insolent and overbearing bishop, a helpless victim in the hands of the executioner.

¹The erection of buildings for public worship, opened a new field for the multiplication of rites and ceremonies, and stimulated the clergy to an increased display of magnificence and grandeur in the forms of religious service. The ignorant populace are eas-

¹In the reign of Alexander, the first Christian churches were supposed to have been erected between the years 222 and 235. In Rome they were called *Basilica*, from their resemblance to buildings of that name, devoted to meetings of the senate and to judicial purposes. Constantine, in the following century, presented to the Christians, his palace on the Caelian Hill, and on this site was erected a *Basilica*.—They are termed *Kuriaka* in Greek. The term *Ecclesia* refers more particularly to the Assembly, or Body of Christians, and to the Church in its spiritual character. Next to the *Basilica*, built in the reign of Constantine, was the Church of St. Peter, in the same reign, on the Vatican hill, A. D. 324. About twelve centuries after, it was taken down by Pope Julius II., and the present Church of St. Peter, erected, and finished in the pontificate of Leo X.

ily captivated by splendid exhibitions; and when connected with the rites of divine worship, their imaginations very readily attach to them superstitious reverence and awe. This natural attachment of the vulgar, to an ostentatious splendor in the external forms in religion, has been very successfully directed, by the papal hierarchy, in its advancement to power; and in the age of ignorance and superstition of which we write, this moral influence must have operated with extraordinary efficacy. It is, moreover, to be recollected, that the Church of Christ may be said to have been at this time in the midst of a pagan population; the admiring spectators of these religious rites, were therefore, heathen idolaters. A greater part of the forms introduced in this and the succeeding age, was adapted to harmonize with their polytheistic prejudices.—“There is no doubt that Christians, for this reason, were allowed to dance, sport, and feast at the tombs of the martyrs, upon their respective festivals, and to do every thing which the pagans were accustomed to do in their temples, during the feasts celebrated in honor of their gods.”

The bread and wine were both administered in the Lord's Supper, to all communicants alike. They were even permitted to carry away the consecrated elements, at the conclusion of the ceremony; which they might partake of in private.¹ And in connection, it might be here remarked, that the denial of the wine to the laity, was not introduced into the Church until the fifteenth century, when it was made a rule by the council of Constance, A. D. 1415. Of this there is undoubted evidence throughout the successive centuries which intervened. In the middle of the fifth century, Leo the Great distinguished the *Manichees*, from those who were received as the orthodox members of the Church, by the former refusing to partake of the wine; and warns the Church against them. Gelasius, at the close of the same century, decreed, “That, as there were some, from a superstitious conceit, who would not partake of the consecrated blood, they should be prohibited from any participation in the sacrament”—“for as much as, there cannot, without great sacrilege, be any division made in one and the same mystery.”

It was the doctrine of the Church, “that baptism procured for the newly initiated the remission of sins;” and Cyprian, in confirmation of this, expressly says, “It is manifest where, and by whom the remission of sins, which is conferred in baptism is administered. They who are presented to the rulers of the Church, obtain by our prayers and imposition of hands the Holy Ghost.” Before the administration of that ordinance, the catechumen was released from the bondage of Satan, by certain formulas of words and ceremonies of an exorcist. Honey and milk were put into his mouth; and he was anointed both before and after that holy rite.

¹Daille, on the Fathers.

Altars were erected in the churches and wax tapers introduced. This was probably taken from the custom of the Magian worshippers who used fires as emblems of the sun, which they adored as the symbol or representation of the angel of light. It will be observed, in the progress of the Church through all its stages of corruption, that its religious rites and ceremonies were faithful imitations of the pagan mysteries. From the period of the introduction of diocesan episcopacy with its concomitant abuses and usurpations, may be properly dated the origin of popery. In each century, as we proceed in its history, we shall perceive its continued growth and increase of power, until it acquired a perfect maturity and strength, and reduced to subjection the most powerful kingdoms of the earth.

The doctrine of a necessary purification of the soul after death, before it was in a proper state for the enjoyment of celestial happiness, was introduced in this century by Manes, a Persian philosopher, who embraced the Christian faith. This was the foundation of that wild fiction, *purgatory*; which a few ages after was matured into a system, and now constitutes an important part of that great machinery by which the papal hierarchy controls the superstitious fears of its votaries.

The ideas of Plato, on the future state of existence of those who, by reason of their vices, are not prepared to enter into the immediate enjoyment of happiness after death, formed the basis of the Manichæan system of purgation. Manes maintained, that "The total purification of souls cannot be accomplished during this mortal life. Hence the souls of men, after death, must pass through two states more of probation and trial, by *water* and *fire*, before they can ascend to the region of light." Through this process must those souls pass, who have been true believers, and have combated against temptations, &c. But those souls, who have in this life neglected the salutary work of their purification, are excluded from these regions of expurgation. In this system, of which I have drawn but a simple outline, we discover the distinction between the different degrees in sins, which was afterwards adopted by the Popish church. This distinction now embraces but two degrees; those which are *venial*, and those which are *mortal*. The punishment of the former consists in the temporary pains of purgatory. But for the latter, no pardon can be obtained but by confession to a priest, and the performance of penances imposed by him upon the offender.

Augustine, the great luminary of the primitive church, embraced for a time the theories of Manes; and hence in his writings may be discovered indefinite and vague allusions to the system. The Church had not then reached that point of extravagance and folly.¹

¹"In quo (die judicii) nobis est ille indefessus ignis obeundus, in quo subeunda sunt gravia illa expiandæ a peccatis animæ supplicia." (Hilary.) Such was the obscure notion of another of the fathers on the subject.

Among other absurdities, Manes contended, that Christ was a mere phantom; and that he did not therefore, suffer pain upon the cross. He denied the resurrection of the body, but not that of the soul; as it was to save the latter only that he appeared in the world. Augustine was not the only one of those venerable fathers who adopted the errors and heretical opinions of the Manichæans. Hilary, who flourished in the fourth century, maintained, that "Christ was supposed to have felt pain, because he suffered; but he was really free from all pain, because he is God."

The custom of offering up prayers *for* the saints departed, was introduced into the Church in this century. "We pray," says Epiphanius, "for the just, the fathers, the patriarchs, the prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, &c., that we may distinguish the Lord Jesus Christ from the order of men, by that honor which we pay to him." In the liturgy of Chrysostom, bishop successively of Antioch and of Constantinople, there is a form of prayer, "for all those who have departed this life." In a subsequent age, these departed saints became themselves the objects of idolatrous worship; and even their relics were held in religious veneration.

The doctrine of the Trinity was at this time a subject of animated controversy. Paul, of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, maintained that the Son and the Holy Ghost exist in God, as the faculties of reason exist in man. Tertullian had contended that the Father is the whole substance, and the Son a portion or derivation of that whole. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, another father of the Church, declared the Son to be the work or workmanship of the Father. A council at Antioch, A. D. 269; which condemned Paul, decreed nevertheless, that "The Son is not of the same essence with the Father." This decree denied the *homoousion*, or consubstantiality of the Father and the Son. This question agitated the Church at different periods from this time, and has been variously decided; one council condemning the judgment of another, and fathers maintaining opposite opinions. So diverse were these judgments and opinions, that it is impossible to determine what was the received doctrine of the Church, at any period, for the first five or six centuries of the Christian era. There was no common tribunal, with appellate jurisdiction, by whom an ordinance "*ex cathedra*" would definitively terminate all controversies. As an evidence of this, the council of Laodicea in 364, excluded by a decree, the Apocrypha from the canonical books of the Old Testament. All the canons of this council were inserted in the code of the Church universal, and were therefore received as of binding authority on all. In 397, a Synod of Carthage ordained, that the Books of the Apocrypha should be read in their churches; and in the beginning of the fifth century, Pope Innocent I., repealed by his decree that of the council of Laodicea. The council at Nice, in 325, reversed the decree of the council at Antioch in 269; declaring that "The Son is con-

substantial with the Father ;” and thereby affirming the *homoousion* which the fathers at Antioch had denied. But the great lights of the Church have been uncertain beacons in directing us to the truth. Tertullian maintained that, “The soul is propagated from the father to the son by the natural course of generation;” and Jerome afterwards affirmed, that this opinion was generally received by the western churches as orthodox in the age of Tertullian. He, however, contended that “The soul is a new creation when united to the body;” and informs us, that in his time the Church so believed. Cyril affirmed, that “The Holy Ghost proceeds properly from the Son.” Theodoret replied, “To say that the Holy Ghost has its subsistence from the Son, or by the Son, is impious and blasphemous.”

The learning and sophistry of the age were arrayed against the Christian Church. It was attacked, by the powers of eloquence and by the writings of the most highly endowed minds. Every artifice and every stratagem were resorted to; having for their object the destruction of the entire building of which Christ himself was the chief corner-stone. These opponents, professing to be Christians, were more dangerous to evangelical truth by their covert and insidious attacks upon the doctrines of the gospel.

Another stratagem resorted to, was, to detract from the divine character of Jesus Christ, by a comparison of his life and holiness with the virtues of the ancient philosophers. The parallel was made more specious and imposing, by the fictions and exaggerations with which their delineations were heightened on the one hand, and by the misrepresentations and detractions to which they descended on the other. Nor were the Jews inactive in their malicious attempts to prejudice the pagan world against the Christian Church.

THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION.

The middle of the third century was the period of a new era in the Christian Church. About a century had elapsed since the introduction of a new order of ecclesiastics in the government of the Church, and a century and a half since the first important innovation in the forms of the apostolic institution. A new system had arisen, but it was a system of falsehood and iniquity, retaining nothing of the purity and the simplicity of the original structure. A new form of government, new doctrines, new rites and ceremonies, new conditions of acceptance with God, moral principles alien from those inculcated in the gospel, constituted a system having scarcely a feature of resemblance to that building which was raised upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. Vice and superstition had banished all traces of vital religion. Those who should have been ministers of the truth, were but false prophets and lying teachers, who had

forsaken the right way; beguiling unstable souls; with hearts exercised with covetous practices; loving the wages of unrighteousness, and promising liberty while they were themselves the servants of corruption. Such was the character and the condition of the Church; without a form of godliness; having a name without a spiritual life.

In this age of moral degeneracy and general apostasy from the religion of the gospel, arose a man "of uncommon learning and eloquence, but of an austere and rigid character," who dared to denounce the abuses and corruption of a wicked hierarchy, and to raise the standard of reformation.

Novatian, a presbyter of the Church in Rome, in the year 251, abjured his ecclesiastical connection, and organized a church on the forms and doctrines prescribed in the gospel; of which he was elected an episcopal presbyter, or pastor.

The bishops of the established churches, says Robinson, fond of proselytes, had encouraged unbecoming and vitiating practices in the admission of wicked and unbelieving persons into the bosom of the Church; and had "transferred the attention of Christians, from the old confederacy for virtue, to vain shows at Easter, and other Jewish ceremonies; adulterated, too, with paganism." Novatian rigidly opposed those practices, and other abuses, which had overwhelmed the Church in a tide of infidelity and moral corruption: and this opposition brought upon him a sentence of excommunication, and an anathema was denounced against him as a schismatic and a disorganizer.

"People every where," says the same writer, "saw with Novatian, the same cause of complaint, and groaned for relief; and when one man made a stand for virtue, the crisis had arrived; people saw the propriety of the cure, and applied the same means to their own relief." Novatian, and the churches which were formed upon the principles of reformation he advocated, have been unsparingly censured for the severity of their discipline, (they assumed themselves the title of *Cathari* or *Puritans*,) but the magnitude of the evils justly complained of, demanded an uncompromising hostility to vice in all its forms. All who saw the fatal departure of the Church from its primitive simplicity and purity, and desired its restoration to spiritual excellence, rallied around the standard of reformation, for the moral regeneration of Christendom. Puritan churches, as they were called, were established in almost every province of the empire; and flourished for nearly three hundred years. In the middle of the following century, they covered some of the most populous districts, or provinces, of Asia Minor; and in the reign of Constantine II., the Novatians, who were then persecuted for their adherence to the doctrines of Athanasius, were extensively diffused through the provinces watered by the Halys; and had, no doubt, extended their settlements to the banks of the

Euphrates. Before the middle of the fifth century they had planted churches beyond the Volga, in Scythia; and history has recorded the death of a Novatian bishop, in that northern region, in the year 439. There were among them, at different periods, writers of eminence and distinction. Of these, the names of Agelius, Acesius, Sisinnius, and Marcian of Constantinople, have been preserved. "The vast extent of this sect," says Dr. Lardner, "is manifest from the names of the authors who have mentioned them, or written against them, and from the several parts of the Roman empire in which they were found."

Novatian published a treatise on the doctrine of the Trinity, in the year 257. His views were strictly in accordance with the language and spirit of the Scriptures of the New Testament, and are now admitted to be orthodox. In this work he treats of "the nature, power, goodness, justice, &c. of God the Father, and of the worship due to him;" "the prophecies in the Old Testament concerning Christ; their actual accomplishment; his nature; Scriptural proofs of his Divinity, &c., and shows that it was Christ who appeared to the patriarchs, Abraham, Jacob, Moses," &c.; "of the Holy Spirit; how promised; given by Christ; his offices and operations on the souls of men, and in the Church," &c. His writings evince clearer views of the theology of the New Testament, than the works of any preceding or cotemporary expounder of the Scriptures.

Novatian was a regularly ordained presbyter of the Christian Church; and was legitimately within the line of apostolic succession.¹ His church was organized on the true principles of the gospel; and he was the ordained pastor of it one hundred and thirty-three years before the bishop of Rome assumed the title of Pope; he was, therefore, not an anti-pope, as the papists have styled him; and five hundred years before the investiture of temporal powers in the pope; his spiritual character, must of consequence, be unimpeachable, and his church be acknowledged a true and apostolic Christian church.

But Novatian was excommunicated for heresy and schism. His heresy, however, was that of Paul, who worshipped the God of his fathers, believing in all things which are written in the law and the prophets; and his schism an act of obedience to the command of God, "to come out from among them, and be separate, and not to touch the unclean thing." What part could he that believed

¹Irenæus declares, that "The succession, and together with it, the episcopate also, had, down to this day, (the latter part of the second century,) descended through a series of presbyters, not of bishops." Both bishops and presbyters, must now trace the succession, if traced at all, through the Church of Rome. There were in this Church, at one time, four pontiffs, who all denounced each other as usurpers. All, in fine, that can be pleaded on this subject, can be pleaded by presbyters, equally with bishops." Dwight's Theology, 151st Sermon.

have with those who were infidels? Christ hath no concord with Belial: the temple of God no agreement with idols.

If the excommunication of Novatian were a legitimate excision from the succession, let the advocates of apostolic lineage unite the broken links in this imaginary chain of presbyters, bishops, Metropolitans, patriarchs and popes, through a series of eighteen hundred years, from the martyrdom of Peter to the accession of his holiness, who "as God, now sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." Let them but trace an unbroken succession, through the first ten hundred years of cimmerian darkness which overshadowed the Christian Church, of popes precipitated from the chair of St. Peter; anathematized and excommunicated by their more successful rivals; of two, and sometimes three and four usurpers exercising, at the same time, a spiritual authority over the Church, and mutually thundering on each other anathemas and curses, as schismatics, excommunicated heretics, and disorderers.

CHAPTER IV.

WE turn from that glimmering light which suddenly arose on a benighted world, in the middle of the last century, to the gloomy history of the Church, descending still deeper into the abyss of paganism and corruption. Happily for the religious liberty of man, that light was not extinguished. Although at times obscured by the moral darkness which overshadowed the Christian world, it continued to cheer by its returning rays, the hopes of those whom God in every age reserved to himself, and who never bowed the knee to the image of Baal.

Many of the events of this century occupy the most interesting, and the most important pages in the history of ancient Europe.—The invasion by the fierce and warlike nations of the North, gave the first great impulse to those revolutions in the political and civil institutions of the Christian states, which, in a few successive centuries after, changed the whole face of Europe; and, within that time, and immediately proceeding out of those convulsive efforts, the temporal power of the Pope rose to its height and was firmly established.

But the accession of Constantine to the imperial throne; his protection of the Christians; his edict of religious toleration, and his subsequent conversion to Christianity, are the most prominent and

remarkable events connected with the progress and temporal prosperity of the Church. Although not received into its bosom, through the rites of baptism, until the last moments of his life, he directed its affairs, controlled its interests, and exercised an authority over its institutions throughout his reign. In the year 313, he published his edict, securing to the Christians the undisturbed exercise of their religion, and providing for the full restitution for the injuries inflicted upon them during their persecution under Diocletian. He restored their lands and places of public worship which had been confiscated; and in the year 324 established the Christian worship throughout the empire.

Throughout this century, however, the Church was alternately favored and persecuted by the different emperors who ascended the throne. But in the reign of Theodosius the Great, the final downfall of the pagan religion was accomplished. The division of the empire into East and West, after his death, was attended with important results to the peace and internal tranquillity of the Church. It was unavoidably productive of contentions; and finally, of an irreparable separation of the Eastern and Western, or the Greek and Latin churches. The bishop of Rome, whose see embraced, before the reign of Constantine, the capital of the whole empire, found in the bishop of Constantinople, after that city became the capital of the eastern division, a formidable rival in his schemes of ambition. The prelate of this church was elevated to a rank, second only to the Romish bishop, by the councils of Constantinople in 381, and of Chalcedon in 451. These proceedings, with the pretensions of the Greek emperor, Zeno, in the year 482, to a sovereignty over the Church, occasioned a schism between these two great branches of the Christian Church. Although a partial reunion was effected in the beginning of the sixth century, the controversy which arose afterward, on the worship of images, produced another division between them, which was widened by the obstinacy and aspiring views of their respective prelates. Finally, in the middle of the eleventh century, the Latins were openly charged with heresy by the patriarch of Constantinople; denunciations and excommunications followed, and these angry disputations were terminated by a formal and perpetual separation. In the fifteenth century, the invasion of the Eastern empire, by the Turks, induced the reigning sovereign, John VII., to propose to the West a restoration of ecclesiastical union; but the opposition of his clergy defeated the contemplated annexation; and the subsequent subjugation of the country by the Mohammedans, raised an insurmountable barrier to all future plans of reconciliation. So much of the relative history of the Greek and Latin churches I have thought proper to refer to, in anticipation. I shall now resume a narrative of the events of the fourth century.

Constantine, although a pagan until the close of his reign, exercised an entire control over the institutions of the Christian Church. His decision of the Donatist controversy, as an ecclesiastical question, is conclusive of itself, of the authority which he claimed and enforced with the full acquiescence of the whole body of the clergy. The councils which were convened to deliberate and to determine on all matters involving the general interests of the Church, were assemblies altogether governed by his dictation, and subservient to his will. A spiritual supreme judge, by divine appointment, was an officer not known in this century; and it will appear, in the progress of this history, that the ruling powers in the state exercised an unquestioned jurisdiction in all ecclesiastical matters, for many centuries after this period. The usurpations of the see of Rome, although continually advancing, were not finally consummated until the thirteenth century, when the title of Pope, or universal Father, which had been assumed in this, by Siricius, bishop of Rome, was conceded by all Christendom; and "the popes assumed the authority of supreme arbiters in all controversies that arose concerning religion or church discipline; and maintained the pretended rights of the church against the encroachments and usurpations of kings and princes." It was at this period they received the pompous title of "Masters of the World."

The bishop of Rome, in the beginning of the fourth century, was the bishop of a province, and was as such, a Metropolitan; as were all other bishops whose dioceses were provincial. But the Church of Rome, it was pretended, was founded not only by the great Apostle of the Gentiles, but by Peter, with whom the keys of heaven had been intrusted by Christ. Rome itself was the mistress of the world. It might therefore have been early foreseen, from these political and ecclesiastical influences co-operating, that in the general struggle for pre-eminence, the bishop of Rome, without any real sanction of divine right, was destined in the course of time to acquire the ascendancy. From these causes, then, we shall perceive the continued augmentation of power, which accompanied the efforts of this ambitious prelate; and it is from this period we are to view him as having already acquired a marked and undisputed pre-eminence over all other prelates.¹

The election of a bishop was an act of the clergy, the nobles, and the whole body of the people. An eminent historian of this century, describing the scenes which occurred on that occasion, says: "An incredible multitude not only from that city, (Tours,) but also from the neighboring cities, convened to give their votes." (*Sulp. Severus.*) The tumultuous selection would sometimes be of a venerable presbyter, a devout monk, or a pious layman.² "The

¹This undisputed pre-eminence must be viewed with a qualification, as regards the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the clergy of the Greek Church.

²Gibbon's Roman Empire.

interested views; the selfish and angry passions; the arts of perfidy and dissimulation; the secret corruption; the open and even bloody violence which had formerly disgraced the freedom of election in the commonwealths of Greece and Rome, too often influenced the choice of the successors of the apostles." In the year 366, the election of a Pontiff, for such was the title then assumed by the bishop of Rome, occasioned a civil war in the city, "which was carried on with the utmost barbarity and fury, and produced the most cruel massacres and desolations." Bribery and force were the instruments of success. Two competitors for the office, were elected by the contending parties; and the tumults and disorders which ensued were only terminated by the expulsion from the city of the weaker candidate. Damascus triumphed; and forcibly seizing upon the vacant see, excommunicated his rival, Ursicinus, and became the acknowledged and rightful successor of St. Peter.

In the government of the Church, and in the management, generally, of ecclesiastical affairs, all powers gradually concentrated in the episcopal head. The people were first excluded from a participation in the administration, and afterward the presbyters were compelled to relinquish the exercise of their ancient privileges. Thus was accomplished a further departure from the primitive forms of the Church; and the rights of a spiritual obligarchy were becoming merged in an absolute despotism.

Constantine new-modelled the laws and the forms of administration in the government of the empire; and by his authority a new order was established in the clergy, corresponding with the new civil office instituted by him. Hence arose the novel title of Patriarch; and this, attached to the several Metropolitan bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, and some time after to the bishop of Constantinople, elevated these prelates to a rank above all other provincial bishops in the Church. The exarch was at the same time created, subordinate to the patriarch; but invested with a jurisdiction superior to the Metropolitan. But it should be here remarked, that the patriarch of Rome, who became afterward pontiff and pope, and indeed was already distinguished by those titles, has always been styled bishop, as a Scriptural title of distinction, and a more authoritative expression of the apostolic character. The several orders of the clergy, from the patriarch down, were alike subject to the civil laws of the empire; nor did they, as ecclesiastics, claim any peculiar exemptions from the penalties attached to their violation.

These several orders, as established under the authority of Constantine, were the first and highest in dignity, prerogatives and privileges, the patriarchs. The title of this ecclesiastical dignity was derived from certain spiritual superintendents, to whose authority the Jews, after their dispersion, submitted; and may, perhaps, be traced from a still higher antiquity in the history of that

people. Their powers were not universally the same in the Christian Church; differing according to the laws or customs of the different countries in which they existed. The patriarch of Constantinople extended his jurisdiction over the patriarchates of Ephesus and Cæsarea. The patriarch of Alexandria had the right of consecrating and approving of all the bishops within his spiritual superintendency; which all had not. They were empowered to assemble the clergy under their respective jurisdictions to attend to the interests of the Church. They possessed appellate jurisdiction in all charges alledged against the bishops; but the emperors, and the councils interposed their powers when complaints were carried up to them of the unjust and arbitrary decisions of the patriarchal court. Innumerable evils arose out of the institution of this order. They encroached upon the prerogatives of the bishops; encouraged dissensions among them; excited disputes and differences among the clergy generally; subsidized the monks to create prejudices in the minds of the people against the bishops: and thus, by their insidious machinations, they not only assisted in destroying the discipline and corrupting the purity of the Church, but they enlarged their own powers, and acquired a fatal ascendancy over the clergy and the people. Added to these, there was a continued struggle among themselves for supremacy and rank. This will be shown in the progress of their history.

This contest for power contributed to the elevation of the Roman patriarch. Those of Antioch and Alexandria, unable to resist the encroachments of the patriarch of Constantinople, were compelled to throw themselves upon the protection of that prelate; and thus he became their protector, and in time, the supreme arbiter in all controversies of an ecclesiastical nature.

The next in order were the exarchs. This was a civil, as well as an ecclesiastical title. The latter seems to have been derived from the former. This was the title attached to the viceroys of the Eastern emperors. As a matter of history, it may be here stated, that the viceroy or exarch of the provinces in Italy, selected Ravenna as the seat of his government; and the connection of this, with the history of the pope's accession of temporal power, will appear in the narration of the events of the eighth century. The exarch in the Church had an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over several provinces; and his powers appear to have been of a supervisory character. He seems to have performed the duties of a "*custos et conservator ecclesiæ*;" taking cognizance of the morals of the clergy; of the observance of the canons of the Church; the manner of celebrating divine service, &c. The civil exarchs were also called patricians.

The third in order were the Metropolitans; under whom were the arch-bishops, who were limited in their jurisdiction to certain districts of country; and the lowest in the ecclesiastical orders of

the episcopacy, were the bishops. Such was the organization of the Church by the dictation of Constantine; an organization utterly subversive of the system of government adopted by the apostles. Hitherto, the title of bishop sanctioned by the inspired writers, had been retained as expressive of the highest trust reposed in the ministers of the gospel, although attached in the preceding century to a dignitary unknown in the apostolic church. The whole Scriptural system was now radically changed; and new titles derived from the civil institutions of the empire, were attached to ecclesiastical offices, invested with extraordinary privileges and powers. This revolution left few vestiges of the ancient structure. Those who assumed to be the pastors of the flock of God, had now become, for filthy lucre, lords over God's heritage.

The Metropolitan was no longer the representative of the Jewish high-priest. The patriarch of Rome united in himself, the priesthood of the Jewish, and the pontificate of the Pagan temples. The highest sacerdotal title in the ancient forms of divine worship, as well as, that in the administration of the heathen ceremonies and rites of the Romans, the priest and the pontiff, distinguished above all the dignitaries of the Christian Church, the bishop of Rome.—The successor of "the Apostles" claimed also, the peculiar eminence of a succession in the order of the "Maximi Pontifices." This order, instituted by Numa, preserved a regular succession to the reign of the emperor Gratian. The Cæsars were proud of the distinction. Augustus assumed the office as one of dignity and power. The successive occupants of the imperial throne, retained it as a prerogative of the crown; but the piety of Gratian rejected the pontifical robe, as the vesture of pagan superstition; and the patriarch of the Christian Church assumed it as the appropriate habiliment of his priestly office.

Neither the Metropolitans nor bishops acknowledged the patriarch as the source of their spiritual powers; nor did they admit that their tenure of office depended upon his will. They were elected by the clergy and the people; and after investiture, discharged their several duties as under a divine authority, independent of the Roman see.

The indecisive course pursued by Constantine, and his successors, who professed the Christian faith, in their toleration of religion, tended to the corruption of the Christian Church. The abominable acts of pagan idolatry were suppressed by Constantine, but his early prejudices restrained him from prohibiting their superstitious rites; and this equal patronage extended to Christianity and to Paganism, occasioned an admixture of their forms of worship, which fatally corrupted the former. Of his son Constantius it was said, that "although he had embraced a different religion, he never attempted to deprive the empire of the sacred worship of antiquity;" and Dr. Mosheim remarks, that "The rites and institutions

by which the Greeks, Romans, and other nations, had formerly testified their religious veneration for fictitious deities, were now adopted, with some slight alterations, by Christian bishops, and employed in the service of the true God."

In their external forms of worship there were but perceptible shades of difference. The toga prætexta of the Pontifex Maximus, was imitated in the surplice worn by the bishop in his ministrations; the lituus, or crooked staff, borne by the Augurs in their divinations, furnished the pattern of the crosier; the ceremony of processions, which are in the present day so frequent in the Popish Church, originated in this century, and was copied from the custom among the ancient Romans of proceeding to their temples with solemnity, to offer up prayers or supplications to their gods, in honor of particular deities, for thanksgiving, or for averting calamities; the celebration of the Lupercalia, agreeably to the ancient rites, introduced at this time, but substituted in the following century by the festival of the purification of the blessed Virgin; the images, the costly vessels, and the whole pageantry of their religious ceremonies, point to the features of resemblance between the two religions. In the administration of the sacrament, the bread and wine were held up to the view of the communicants; and from this simple act, was introduced the imposing ceremony of the elevation of the Host.¹ A new impulse seems to have been given in this age to superstitious observances. A religious veneration for departed saints, matured into religious worship. The virtue of consecrated water obtained universal belief among the ignorant. Miraculous powers were attributed to sacred relics. The Pagan rites for appeasing the anger of their gods, were introduced into the Christian Church, with new and imposing solemnities. In short, the artful devices of the clergy sunk the Christian world into the depths of corruption and vice; whilst every downward step left the aspiring hierarchy in possession of increased powers, and opened a wider field to the ambition of the Roman pontiff, whose usurpations were continually extending his prerogatives.

The Donatists were a formidable body of schismatics, but their influence was not felt beyond the limits of the African churches.

The doctrine of the Trinity became a fruitful source of controversy in the early part of this century, through the zeal and the eloquence of Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria; who maintained, that the Son was in his essence, distinct from the Father; that he was the first and the noblest creature of God's workmanship; that he was the instrument by whose subordinate operation, the Al-

¹Lord Bolingbroke, being present at the elevation of the host in the cathedral at Paris, expressed to a nobleman who stood near him, his surprise that the king of France should commit the performance of such an august and striking ceremony to any subject. (Mosheim.) The practice was, some time after this century, introduced, of carrying the consecrated elements, in a cibory or covered chalice, through the streets of a city, as an object of worship.

mighty created the universe; that he was consequently, inferior to the Father; that the Holy Spirit was created by the Son. This was the doctrine of the *homoiousion*, which denied the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son.

His followers were divided into numerous sects. They differed from the Gnostics, who believed Christ to have been an emanation from the Supreme Being; but not a co-worker in the creation of the world; and that he was sent to rescue man from the evils inflicted upon him by the Demiurgus or Creator.

Arius advanced his opinions in a controversy with his bishop, Alexander, in the year 316; and as irrational and unscriptural as they are, by his learning, sophistry, and eloquence, he seduced over to his side, many of the most distinguished theological scholars of the age; among whom was the ecclesiastical historian, Eusebius. Eudoxius, patriarch of Antioch, and of Constantinople; Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea; Aëtius, bishop of Antioch; Eunomius, who was eminent for his literary acquirements, severally became the leaders of different sects who adopted the Arian creed. Constantine countenanced, if he did not assent to the doctrine. His son and successor, Constantius, not only defended the disciples of Arius, but persecuted their opponents. Valens supported their cause; and is charged with the burning of eighty ecclesiastics who were Athanasians.

The great antagonist of Arius, was Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria. His doctrine maintained, "one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity." He affirmed, that "there is one person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost;" that "the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one—the glory equal, the majesty co-eternal." In his system he supports the doctrine of Christ's human and divine natures, as united in one person. Athanasius maintained, therefore, the doctrine of the *homoousion*, or the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son.

The first general or ecumenical council of the Church, was convened by the order of Constantine, at Nice, in Bithynia, in the year 325, with a view of composing the differences which disturbed the Christian Church. The Novatian bishop, Accesius,¹ was invited by the emperor to take a seat in the council.

The Arian controversy was the important subject submitted to the council; and after long and animated discussions, the doctrine of Athanasius was declared to be orthodox and sound in faith, and Arius was condemned. The Nicene creed declared, that "the Son was begotten of his Father before all worlds; God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made," &c.

¹The Novatian bishops enjoyed no higher privileges and distinctions than the angels, episcopal presbyters, or bishops of the early part of the second century.

In the preceding century, the council which convened at Antioch in the year 269, decided that "the Son is not of the same essence with the Father." The assembled fathers at Nice, by their judgment against Arius, now pronounced that decision heretical, and deserving the severe anathemas of the Church; for they declared, that "all who do not keep undefiled and holy, the faith, shall without doubt, perish everlastingly;" which faith they affirmed to be expressed and explained in the decree of the council; and Arius, by their sentence was excommunicated as a heretic, and banished.

In the year 330 he was recalled by Constantine; who also repealed the laws which had condemned him, and by another council convened at Tyre, he was restored to the privileges of the Church; whilst Athanasius was in turn deposed and banished. "Hence arose, says Mosheim, endless animosities and seditions; treacherous plots, and open acts of injustice and violence between the parties. Council was assembled against council, and their jarring and contradictory decrees spread perplexity and confusion throughout the Christian world." In the year 360, the council consisting of four hundred bishops, of Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Illyricum, which convened at Rimini, in Italy, reversed the Nicene decree, and re-affirmed the homoiousian doctrine of the council of Antioch.¹ During the reign of Constantius, a large portion of the Western Church, with Liberius, the patriarch of Rome, became proselytes to the Arian faith. When Jovian ascended the throne, the Homoiousians triumphed, and the doctrines of Athanasius were pronounced the orthodox doctrines of the church. Under the emperor Valens, the Arians obtained again the ascendancy; but when Theodosius assumed the reins of government, the Nicene creed became the standard of the orthodox faith. Such were the frequent changes in the course of this century, of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity; and in this century flourished some of the brightest luminaries of the Church: such as, Eusebius, Athanasius, Basil, Cyril, Chrysostom, the two Gregories of the Greek Church, and Hilary, Lactantius, Jerome, and Augustin of the Latin.

The second general or ecumenical council assembled by Theodosius, in the year 381, confirmed the Nicene creed, and settled in a more definite manner, the doctrine of the Trinity. In this council, which convened at Constantinople, the patriarch of that city was elevated to a rank next to the patriarch of Rome. This excited the jealousy of that pontiff, and the anger of the patriarchs of Antioch and of Alexandria. In the sixth canon of this council, the trial of all bishops accused is committed to provincial diocesan synods. This was offensive also to the Roman prelate, who had advanced pretensions to a right of jurisdiction in their trial and deposition.

¹ "The whole world grieved," said Jerome, "and was surprised to find itself Arian." The Latin bishops professed to have been deceived.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

The Council of Nice had quieted the controversy which disturbed the peace of the Church, on the re-admission into Christian communion of those who had lapsed from the faith. This question had been one of angry disputation between the Papal and Novatian churches. The Athanasian doctrines which formed the creed of the Novatians, were adopted as the rule of orthodox faith; and the Novatian Church was represented in that council in the person of its bishop.¹ These circumstances had produced a toleration of religious differences on the one part, and imagined security in the enjoyment of their rites and forms of worship on the other. But the Christian world was still divided on the question of the Trinity; and the persecution of the weaker party, as each would alternately prevail, was carried on with unabated violence and animosity. The severity of this persecution was felt in a peculiar degree by the Novatians in the East. They extended, at this period, over the populous provinces of Asia-Minor.

In the reign of Constantius, the district of country between the provinces of Bithynia and Cappadocia, became the seat of a relentless and cruel war, carried on by the strong-arm of the government; and which terminated only with their utter defeat and dispersion. The execution of this purpose was intrusted by the emperor to the Arian bishop, Macedonius. In the first encounter, the Roman legions were defeated. The zeal and courage of the Novatians, armed with their implements of husbandry, triumphed over the numbers and the discipline of the imperial forces; and in one engagement they obtained a victory over their enemies, by the slaughter of four thousand soldiers on the field of battle. But overcome at length, by an irresistible strength, and the persevering spirit of Macedonius, they were given up to the sword of their merciless invaders. They were pursued, and massacred. Those who escaped the sword fled into distant provinces. Such was the issue of this unequal conflict. But the survivors, still maintaining the doctrines, diffused their tenets over the more northern and inaccessible regions of the empire; preserved the purity of their faith and their forms of worship, and in the beginning of the seventh century, re-appeared in the religious world; having retained their aversion to the superstitious rites and the idolatry of the Greek and Latin churches, but lost the distinctive name of their ancient founder. As Novatians, they are traced in history to the middle of the fifth century, with flourishing churches beyond the Volga. They re-appear as Paulicians.

In the middle of this century, Aërius, a presbyter of Sebastia, in Pontus, endeavored to restore the Church to its primitive forms.

¹This privilege was conceded to the Novatians through the influence of Constantine.

He opposed the whole system of episcopacy as then established ; maintaining, that it was a subversion of the simple plan of government instituted by the apostles ; as the office of bishop was not distinct from that of presbyter agreeably to Scripture. "For this opinion chiefly, he is ranked among the heretics, by Epiphanius, his cotemporary, who calls it a notion full of folly and madness : " and for this effort to reform the abuses in the government and rites of the Church, his followers were expelled from the cities, and obliged to conduct their public worship in places of secret retirement. Notwithstanding this sentence of condemnation against Aërius and his followers, it is recorded in history with undoubted authority, that many orthodox writers of the age, whose opinions were so regarded by the Church, believed that the difference between those two offices was not founded on divine precept ; but was one of human contrivance, and simply of ecclesiastical right. Bellarmine, who was an oracle of the Papal Church in the sixteenth century, testifies, that "Jerome was, in this point, of Aërius' opinion ; and that not only he, but also Ambrose, Augustine, Sedulus, Primasius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Oecumenius, and Theophylact, all maintained the same heresy." ¹ When in the Council of Trent, A. D. 1550, Medina maintained the rightful superiority of a bishop over a presbyter, and these authorities were adduced against him, he replied, "That it is no marvel that they, and some others also, of the fathers, fell into this heresy ; this point being not then clearly determined." Aërius is considered as the father of the modern Presbyterians. "How far," says Mosheim, "he pursued his opinions on this subject, through its natural consequences, is not certainly known ; but we know, with the utmost certainty, that it was highly agreeable to many good Christians, who were no longer able to bear the tyranny and arrogance of the bishops of this century."

But this was not the only measure of reform advanced by Aërius. He condemned the practice of offering up prayers for the dead ; rejected many other rites of the Church as founded on superstition ; and opposed the observance of stated fasts, and the celebration of the festival of Easter.

These reformers of the fourth century, appeared first along the coast of the Euxine ; extended southwardly to the Mediterranean, and eastwardly to the banks of the Araxes, in the province of Armenia. Whether they maintained any Christian communion with the churches of the Novatians, who at the same period had flourishing settlements in that portion of Asia-Minor, is not known.—Whether the bishops, who had the oversight of the Novatian churches, in this century, were simply episcopal presbyters, as instituted by their founder in the last century, has been a question in controversy. They may, in the progress of time, have increased

¹Daille, on the Fathers.

their powers, and extended their jurisdiction beyond those originally attached to their office. That they had fallen into this manifest corruption, is not conclusively inferable, however, from the title of bishop, as this was a distinguishing appellation of the teaching and ruling elder of the Apostolic Church. Neither is it inferable from the circumstance of Acesius having been received into the council at Nice; Athanasius, himself, being (at the time,) a deacon only of the Church of Alexandria, and a distinguished member of that assembly.

The Novatian and Aërian churches were unquestionably Christian churches; strictly modelled agreeably to the forms established by the apostles; orthodox in their faith; and free from those deformities and corrupt innovations, which disfigured the Romish Church, and debased its religion into a system of refined Paganism.

From the middle of the third century, we trace "the Church of Christ" as truly existing separate and distinct from that ecclesiastical polity; purified from the contaminations of Pagan superstition, and restored to its original simplicity in government and worship; and preserved through subsequent ages, by those witnesses of the truth, whom God in his providence and grace, successively raised up in testimony of his faithfulness. When the prophet of the Lord complained, that his prophets were killed, and his altars destroyed, and that he was left alone; God assured him, that he had reserved to himself seven thousand men, who had not bowed the knee to the Image of Baal.

This century is the epoch of the conquest of the Western Empire, and its complete subjugation by the Goths, and the savage, but warlike tribes which issued out of Germany. In the year 476, the "kingdom of Italy" was founded by the Heruli, from the wild regions of Scandinavia, under their leader, Odoacer. In 493 the Ostrogoths invaded Italy, and Theodoric, their king, established in his own person, a new dynasty on the throne. These, in the following century, were conquered by the Lombards.

Some of the German tribes had embraced Christianity before their hostile incursions; but a greater part of them were converted not long after their settlement in Italy. The Burgundians on the Rhine; the Vandals, who first assaulted and took Rome, in the year 455, and afterward extended their conquests and their possessions in Africa, from Carthage to the Pillars of Hercules, and eventually occupied the southern borders of Spain; the Suevi, in the north-western portion of Spain; and the Goths, who first overran Greece and the Peloponnesus, and afterward a part of Italy and Gaul, adopted after their conversion to Christianity, the doctrines of the Arians.

Amid these intestine commotions and revolutions of empire and kingdoms, the cause of Christianity necessarily suffered. The

Western churches relapsed still further into the rites of Pagan idolatry. The very calamities which befell Europe were imputed to the desertion of the heathen gods, by those who were inimical to the Christian religion; and strong efforts were made to overthrow it, and to substitute the polytheistic worship of the ancient Greeks and Romans. The mild government of the successors of the rude and uncivilized invaders, tended however, to meliorate the condition of the people; and comparisons have been drawn by historians, between the manners of the Goths and the Romans, highly creditable to the former. The administration, particularly of Theodoric, has been eulogised for the equity of its laws, and the equal justice with which they were enforced. After the first shock of these political changes, the influence of the Church was accelerated; and whilst it continued to extend its power and obtain stronger control over the public mind, it hastened its own downward tendency to corruption and vice.

The elevation of the patriarch of Constantinople to the second rank in the Christian world, was but calculated to excite the ambition and to encourage the aspirations after power, of that formidable rival of the Roman pontiff. These pretensions were still further strengthened by a decree of the fourth ecumenical council convened at Chalcedon, in the year 451, which accorded to that prelate, the same rights and honors which had been conceded to the Roman see; and which confirmed his jurisdiction, recently assumed by him, over Asia, Thrace and Pontus. These measures were strenuously resisted by Leo, surnamed the Great, who then occupied the papal throne. This elevation of the patriarch of Constantinople, which raised him to an eminence equal to that of the head of the Latin Church, led to unremitted struggles for supremacy between them.

The influence which the Eastern patriarch had acquired by the decree of the council at Constantinople, in 381, was opposed by the papal court at Rome; and to counteract it, the most fraudulent devices were resorted to. The maxim, long before this period introduced into the moral code of the Romish church, that "it is an act of virtue to deceive and lie, when by that means the interest of the Church might be promoted," became a ruling principle, and was practically carried out in this contest for spiritual power. In the beginning of this century, Zosimus the pope, forged certain canons, which he averred had been decreed by the council of Nice, in 325, and imposed them upon the councils in Africa, as authentic documents.¹ These fictitious canons acknowledged the bishop of Rome, as "the universal bishop and head of the whole Christian Church." These pretended decrees have never appeared in any of the genuine copies of the canons of that council; and although

¹Daille, on the right use of the Fathers.

diligent search was made in the archives of the several churches of Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch, at the time, nothing was discovered which could give to the falsehood of Zosimus, a semblance of veracity. They were pronounced to be artful forgeries, and were disregarded by all the Churches except those under the jurisdiction of the Romish see. His successor, Boniface I., with equal effrontery, advanced his pretensions to supremacy upon the authority of those condemned documents.

Notwithstanding the detection and exposure of this fraudulent attempt; not many years after, Leo, in his letter to the emperor Theodosius, claimed upon this authority the power of judging of all points of faith, and of the prelates of the Church. In the council of Chalcedon, in the year 451, in which were convened six hundred bishops, "the very flower and choice of the whole clergy," the legates of pope Leo, were bold enough to assert, that the sixth canon of the council of Nice, declared that "The Church of Rome has always had the primacy." "Words," says a distinguished writer;¹ "which are no more found in any Greek copies of the councils, than are those other pretended canons of pope Zosimus; neither do they appear in any Greek or Latin copies, nor so much as in the edition of Dionysius Exiguus, who lived about fifty years after this council."

Modern papists have endeavored to rescue from reproach the characters of those fraudulent pontiffs, by the suggestion that they innocently confounded the canons of the council of Sardica with those of Nice. The council of Nice, convened in the year 325, by the authority of the emperor Constantine, to determine the Arian controversy. This city was in Bithynia, a province of Asia Minor. The council of Sardica assembled, in the reign of Constans, in the year 347, to decide a controversy on the conflicting claims to the episcopal chair of two rival aspirants. This was a city of Illyricum, a province on the north-eastern borders of the Adriatic. This was not a general council, and although it has been appealed to, as unquestionable authority, by the advocates of papacy, its canons have never been received by the churches as ecumenical. Their debates were but hostile altercations between the eastern and western bishops; and the former, from an apprehension of danger, withdrew from the assembly. From that period has been dated the disagreement between the Greek and Latin churches. This council prohibited the election of a successor to a deposed bishop, until the Roman pontiff had decided on the merits of his appeal.

The jealousy and rivalry between the two primates were, soon after the council of Chalcedon, exhibited in a spiritual warfare between them, of a most bitter and vindictive character. Felix II., bishop of Rome, anathematized and excommunicated Acacius, the bishop of Constantinople, as a perfidious enemy of the truth. Aca-

¹Daille, on the Fathers.

cius received with contempt this sentence issued from the chair of St. Peter, and in turn anathematized and excommunicated the Roman pontiff, and ordered his name to be struck out of the sacred register of bishops. "This sentence of Acacius was confirmed by the emperor, by the church of Constantinople, by almost all the Eastern bishops, and even by Andreas, of Thessalonica, the pope's vicar for East Illyricum." In retaliation, the Western churches erased also the name of Acacius, from the diptychs. Such was the contest carried on between the spiritual heads of the Church.

In the mean time religion itself continued to decline in spirituality. All the rites and ceremonies of the Church were modeled to captivate the admiring multitude. Costly edifices were erected; resembling in their style and decorations the temples of the gods. The vestments of the officiating priests were resplendent with rich ornaments. Images of the saints and of the Virgin Mary, crowded the sanctuaries of worship. Altars of solid silver were erected, and chests of the same precious metal were provided, for depositories of the bones of martyrs. The most demoralizing innovation made in the established customs of the Church, was the substitution, by Leo, of private auricular confession, for that public confession before the religious congregation which all penitents had been required to make. The worship of images, and of departed saints, began at this time to form a part of public as well as of private religious service. The doctrine of purgatory may be considered as now constituting an essential article in their code of faith. Thus do we perceive in this century, all the superstitious observances which have been so deeply engrafted in the papal church marshalling in close array.

In the early part of this century, Pelagius introduced his doctrines, which denied "The original corruption of human nature, and the necessity of divine grace to enlighten the understanding and to purify the heart." They were favorably received in some of the Eastern churches, and the bishop of Jerusalem openly protected those who adopted them. Augustine opposed them with his learning and talents; and the controversy which arose was referred to Zosimus, who then filled the pontifical chair. This pontiff, who founded his pretensions to the title of universal bishop, upon forged canons, which he attempted to impose upon the Christian world as the genuine decrees of the council of Nice, declared these doctrines of Pelagius sound in faith. The African bishops, zealously sustained by Augustine, warmly controverted this decision of the infallible head of the Church. Zosimus, unable to reply to their objections, and forced, by the general judgment pronounced against those doctrines, to reverse his papal decree, condemned Pelagius and his disciples, whom he had previously protected, and pursued them with the utmost severity.

Another question which agitated the Church in this century, was in reference to the appropriate title of the Virgin Mary. This arose from the confused notions still prevailing on the hypostatical union of Christ's human and divine nature. Divines differed in the phraseology with which they expressed their opinions of the true character of this hypostasis. Some drawing too widely a distinction between "the Son of God" and "the Son of Man;" others too intimately blending them together. Hence arose the controversy, whether the Virgin Mary should be called "the mother of God" (*Theotokos*) or "the mother of Christ" (*Christotokos*.) Nestorius, a Syrian bishop of Constantinople, and his disciple Anastasius, adopted the latter title. For this opinion Nestorius was condemned by a council at Alexandria, in the year 430, convened at the instance of Cyril, bishop of that city. Nestorius retorted on his accuser, by charging him with the Apollinarian heresy, or confounding the two natures of Christ, and thundering his anathemas against him. A general council was convened at Ephesus, A. D. 431, by order of the emperor Theodosius, the Younger, which decided, that Nestorius was "guilty of blasphemy against the divine majesty;" deprived him of his episcopal dignity and banished him. Another council convened at Antioch, soon after, pronounced against Cyril, a sentence of condemnation, marked with all the violence of that which had been thundered against Nestorius.¹

These conflicting decrees of the councils and discordant opinions of the bishops, are indisputable evidences of the errors, in matters of faith, into which the highest judicatories of the papal church have fallen. By the twenty-fourth article of the creed of pope Pius IV., whatever has been delivered, defined and declared, by the sacred canons and ecumenical councils, must be received and professed by every papist, as an article of faith; and whatever is contrary thereto, and all heresies condemned, rejected and anathematized, by the Church, must be by him condemned, rejected and anathematized. By the fourteenth article of the same creed, he professes "to admit the Holy Scriptures in the same sense that holy Mother Church does, whose business it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of them; and to interpret them according to the unanimous sense of the fathers." The conscience of every papist must be laid upon the bed of Procrustes, to be stretched out, or to be lopped off, to suit the discordant standards to which it is applied. Ambrose, of the fourth century, says, "Many times have the clergy erred; the bishop has wavered in his opinion; the rich men have adhered in their judgment to the earthly princes of the world; meanwhile the people alone preserved the faith entire." Jerome also testifies as to the credibility of the fathers, when he says, "I place the apostles in a distinct rank from all

¹Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.

other writers; for as for them, they always speak truth; but as for those other, they err sometimes, like men, as they were." Cyril remarks "Believe me not in whatsoever I shall simply deliver, unless thou find the things which I shall speak demonstrated out of the Holy Scriptures."¹ The fathers admit themselves that their opinions are not to be received as authoritative, but subjected to the standard of the gospel. The unanimous sense of the fathers cannot be obtained on any one point of faith; for they have differed in opinions, not only in matters of faith, but also of practice. It is equally impossible to ascertain what has been the belief or the judgment of the Church, taken either singly or as a whole, on any of the points in controversy of the present or of a preceding age. This has sufficiently appeared in our progress through the history of the preceding centuries, and will be more strongly exhibited in the subsequent history of the Church. These are the infallible standards of faith to which the bigoted votary of Rome has resigned his conscience!

Nestorius maintained, that "There were in Christ two distinct persons, one divine, the other human; this union was formed at the moment of conception; not of nature or person, but of will and affection. God dwelt in Christ as in his Temple; and therefore Mary was properly 'the mother of Christ,' and not the mother of God."

The Nestorians were condemned by the council of Alexandria. But about eighteen years after the termination of this controversy, (by the deposition of their leader and his banishment to Arabia, where he closed his solitary life in the desert,) Eutyches, an abbot in Constantinople, who violently opposed their doctrines, maintained, that "The two natures, which existed in Christ before his incarnation, became one after it, by the hypostatical union." This was construed to be a denial of the human nature of Christ, and a council assembled by Flavian, the bishop of that see, in the year 448, degraded him from his office and pronounced against him a sentence of excommunication. Thus did one council condemn Nestorius, and another his opponent.

To reconcile these differences and to put an end to the controversy which seemed to have been sustained by a confusion of terms, and by a profound ignorance of the subject, an ecumenical council was convened at Ephesus,² in the following year, by the emperor Theodosius. Eutyches was acquitted of the charges alledged against him by the council of Constantinople; and Flavian, whose influence had procured his condemnation, was publicly scourged

¹Daille on the Fathers.

²This council, at Ephesus, was called by the Latins, "*Conventus Latronum*," and by the Greeks, "*Synodon Iestriken*;" from the turbulence of its proceedings and the savage barbarity of its character.

with the most cruel severity, and afterwards banished to Epipas, a city of Lydia.

In the year 451, the council of Chalcedon assembled. The Eutychian doctrines were condemned. Dioscorus, the bishop of Alexandria, who had presided over the council of Ephesus, was deposed and banished to Paphlagonia; and the acts of that council were annulled.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

The power of papacy, aided by the secular arm of the empire, and strengthened by the credulity, the ignorance and the submission of the people, effectually suppressed every effort to bring about a moral regeneration in society. Superstition, which was the main-spring of all its operations, exercised an irresistible influence on the minds of all classes of men; and it was the policy of popery to control the public feeling and sentiment by an address to the corrupt passions of the heart. It is true that attempts were made to restore true religion and piety to the Church, but these laudable efforts were defeated by the force of ecclesiastical power.

Cyril, the bishop of Alexandria, displayed his zeal for the Church and his hatred of heresy, by a brutal persecution of the Novatians; who, in the language of Gibbon, were "The most innocent and harmless of the Sectaries." The prohibition of their public worship, and the confiscation of their ecclesiastical possessions, were among the earliest measures of the administration of his sacred office.

Vigilantius, the Protestant of the age and a presbyter of a church in Spain, propagated in this century his doctrines of reformation. He was a man "remarkable for his learning and eloquence."

He reprobated the worship of saints; condemned the religious veneration rendered to the tombs and bones of the martyrs; opposed the celibacy of the clergy and the observance of fasts; maintained that the practice of burning tapers, in the churches, and at the tombs of the saints, in the day, was derived from pagan superstition; and advanced opinions adverse to those of the clergy on the causes of the corrupt state of the Church and the means of its reformation. For his opposition to the superstitious rites of worship, he is compared by Jerome to the Hydra, to Cerberus, to the Centaurus, and who calls him "the organ of the Dæmon."

Many bishops¹ in Gaul and Spain, countenanced the efforts of Vigilantius, but they were silenced by the angry murmurs of the Church; and Vigilantius himself was formally condemned and pronounced a heretic.

¹Proh! nefas, episcopus sui sceleris dicitur habere consortes. Hier. in Vigil.

CHAPTER V.

THE French monarchy was founded by Clovis, in the close of the last century. It embraced previously but a few provinces on the right bank of the Rhine. He was converted to Christianity, and was baptized, with three thousand of his subjects. In this century many of the pagan nations were brought within the pale of the Church. Augustine, prior of the monastery of St. Andrew, was sent over to Britain in the year 596, and succeeded in the propagation of the gospel. He changed the heathen temples into sanctuaries of Christian worship. He is considered the first archbishop of that kingdom. Columba, an Irish monk, compelled to leave his native country by the civil commotions in which he had taken part, about the year 565, went to Scotland. He there preached the gospel; and from his success in the conversion of the inhabitants, he received the title of "the apostle of the Picts." Numbers of the Jews were also persuaded to embrace the tenets of the Christian religion; but in Spain and Gaul coercive measures were resorted to, and they were compelled to renounce their ancient faith and to submit to the ordinance of baptism.

The external affairs of the Church were generally prosperous; and the light of gospel truth continued to penetrate the distant regions of paganism and idolatry; but its internal affairs exhibited neither peace nor purity. The ambition of the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, the overbearing temper of those who filled the subordinate dioceses, and the corrupt practices of all orders of the clergy; together with the novel doctrines which continually agitated the Christian world, were fruitful sources of contention, and vitiated the pure fountains of religion.

In a council convened in Constantinople, by the emperor Mauricius, A. D. 588, John, bishop of that see, claimed the title of ecumenical or universal bishop. This had been conceded to the patriarchs of Constantinople, by the emperors Leo and Justinian. The circumstances, however, under which it was now assumed, excited the anger of Pelagius, the Roman pontiff; and he expressed his indignation by a remonstrance which he submitted to the emperor. This measure, however, was not accompanied with success; neither the emperor, nor the patriarch of Constantinople, admitted his pretensions; and this led to renewed dissensions in the Church.

Although the servile minions of the papal court applied to the supreme pontiff, the title of "Vicegerent of the Most High," and elevated him to a throne above all earthly potentates, believing him to be judge in the place of God; it is certain, that the emperors and princes of this age paid little regard to his pretensions to spir-

itual sovereignty, and restrained him in the exercise of his official powers, by the civil laws of the kingdom and the authority of the throne. The Gothic princes who wielded the sceptre over Western Europe, exercised the right of determining the validity of every election to fill the vacant see. Their approbation was indispensable to the elevation of every aspiring candidate for that sacred office. "They enacted spiritual laws, called the religious orders before their tribunals, and summoned councils by their legal authority." The political sovereign of the State virtually nominated the ecclesiastical head of the Church, and determined by his arbitrary will who should be the successor to the pretended apostolic chair. The appointment to this succession had the semblance only of a clerical act, as all the proceedings were under the control of the crown, and to this authority the Church submitted without a murmur.

The chair of St. Peter was the highest object of the ambition of the clergy; and the recurrence of a vacancy produced the most animated contests, and frequently civil war and bloodshed; each aspirant resorting to the expedients of fraud, bribery, or force, to ensure his success. In the year 498, the death of Anastasius II., was followed by scenes of the most revolting character in the city of Rome. Symmachus and Laurentius were both elected to the succession. Although the apostles Peter and Paul, were at the same time bishops of Rome, as the papal writers have informed us, laboring faithfully and harmoniously in the cause of Christ and in the building up of his Church; the successors of those holy and devout Christians and servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, assumed, each for himself, the apostolic charge of the Church; and claimed the right of an undivided and undisputed possession of the whole see. They alledged against each other, with unquestionable evidences of truth, crimes of the most nefarious character; and fully succeeded in producing in the public mind a thorough conviction, that they had both been guilty of the most diabolical acts of wickedness. Three several ecclesiastical councils in Rome had convened; but through the intrigues and machinations of the parties their deliberations were terminated without a decision of the controversy. Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who had recently obtained possession of the throne of Italy, having been gained over to the party of Symmachus, summoned a fourth council in the beginning of this century; and by his authority, Symmachus was declared to be the rightful successor, and his adversary Laurentius branded with the epithet of anti-pope and banished. The writers who have transmitted accounts of these proceedings, have represented this schism in the Church as one of a most odious character, and as marked by the most flagitious crimes; by assassinations and massacres, committed by both parties, perfectly regardless of the restraints of the law.

During these continued struggles for supremacy between the patriarch of the East and the pontiff of the West, the frequent contests for the papal chair, and the advancing pretensions of the subordinate bishops, Christianity became more corrupted; vice and profligacy pervaded all orders of the clergy. The opprobrious title of "an assembly of robbers," imputed to the council of Ephesus in the last century, might very properly be attached to almost all of the councils of the Church in this and the succeeding centuries, agreeably to the concurrent voices of the most faithful historians of those periods. Their deliberations were governed by corrupt influences; and their decisions were seldom marked by wisdom, and a devotion to the prosperity and true interests of the Christian Church.

In this century, temples were erected in honor of the departed saints; and were numerous in the East as well as in the West. A superstitious belief prevailed, that not only cities but provinces were under the peculiar guardianship of those who were thus honored and revered. Festivals were instituted in commemoration of their piety. These were for the most part founded on pagan rites; as the festival of the purification of the blessed Virgin Mary, which was substituted for the Lupercalia or feasts of Pan, to gratify the wishes of the pagan converts. The devout worshipper of these tutelary deities satisfied his conscience and convinced his credulity, by an expression in the Apocalypse, that "These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth." Jerome has said, "If the Lamb is everywhere, these who are with the Lamb must also be everywhere." Litanies were addressed to them; and they became the objects of devout adoration. Thus was established a system of polytheism, as wicked and as absurd as the mythology of the ancients.

Purgatory was more distinctly defined, and the doctrine of its fiery ordeal impressed more strongly upon the public mind. Lactantius somewhat obscurely taught, that "The souls of men, after this life, are all shut up together in one common prison, where they are to continue until the day of judgment." Hilary more clearly affirmed, that "At the last day we are to endure an indefatigable fire; when we are to undergo those grievous torments for the expiation of our sins and purifying our souls." Ambrose also believed, that "It is necessary that all who desire to return into paradise should be proved by this fire." Augustine intimated, that "The souls of men departed are shut into he knew not what secret dark receptacle, where they are to remain from the hour of their departure until the resurrection."¹ What those infallible fathers had faintly shadowed forth in their gloomy imaginations, assumed in this age, "a local habitation and a name."

¹Daille, on the Fathers.

At the close of this century, Gregory the Great, "who, as a writer observes, had a marvellous fecundity of genius in inventing, and an irresistible force of eloquence in recommending superstitious observances," determined the true locality and defined by metes and bounds, the "*abditis receptaculis*" of Augustine; and is undoubtedly entitled to the credit of having first ascertained the true character of those hitherto unexplored and mysterious regions of the dead. In the lowest abyss lies the apartment of the damned, who are there consigned to endless and irremediable woes. Above this burns the purifying fire, into which are cast the souls of those who die in grace; that they may be thoroughly purged and prepared for heaven; but whose torments may be alleviated by the suffrages of the faithful in this life. Prayers, alms and masses, and other works of piety, such as indulgences, are efficacious in mitigating their torments, and securing for them a safe and early passport to heaven. The "*limbus infantum*," of lighter specific gravity, floats above the regions of purgatory, and forms the receptacle of infants; who have not tasted the exorcised salt; whose nose and ears, have not been anointed with spittle; whose forehead, eyes and breast, have not been crossed; upon the top of whose head the holy chrism has not been rubbed; and into whose face the priest has never blown the sign of the cross. Into this ethereal fire the unbaptized infant must first be plunged, before its sinless soul is received up into the mansions of bliss. Above these, lies the unoccupied expanse of the "*limbus patrum*;" where the souls of the patriarchs, prophets, and other holy men, performed their expurgations before the incarnation and crucifixion of Christ; who, descending into hell, before his resurrection from the dead, released them from their imprisonment and translated them to heaven.

But from the blessed abodes of *purgatory* and the *limbus infantum*, contumacious and unbelieving heretics are forever excluded. Their habitation is with the damned in the lowest abyss of hell. "Whosoever shall say, that there is no debt of temporal punishment to be paid in purgatory, is accursed." "Whosoever shall say, the sacrifice of the mass is not to be used for the dead, is accursed." "He who acknowledges not the authority of the pope, and who submits not implicitly to the decrees and doctrines of the papal church, the same shall be accursed." Such is the language of popery.

A new source of revenue to the Church was obtained by granting to the liberal benefactors of the clergy a remission of sins. The rich endowments bestowed on the monasteries, and costly offerings placed upon the altars, procured for the pious donors the intercession of the saints in heaven, and a sure acceptance with God. This was an age prolific of ecclesiastical orders. These by their immense wealth, and their unbounded influence over the superstition and ignorance of the people, were the strong pillars of the papal

throne. The monks multiplied in numbers in every part of Europe, and infested society like swarms of locusts; and with an influence more dreadful than the plagues of Egypt, they covered the whole land, devouring the substance of the deluded victims of their priestcraft and frauds, and corrupting the morals of the community. The Roman pontiffs and the patriarchs of the East, patronized and encouraged these religious associations as instruments of their ambition and rapacity. Thus may the clergy of this age be said to have improved on the artful devices and the wickedness of their predecessors. With their accession of wealth and power, vice and profligacy increased. The truly pious and the reflective of all classes beheld with sorrow and in despondency this downward tendency of society. The evil was manifest to all, but it sprang from the very fountains which should have poured forth the streams of purity and virtue; and there was no moral power which could arrest it.

In the history of the preceding century, the infallible church presented the mortifying spectacle of an assembly of bishops at Jerusalem, a council of bishops at Diospolis, and the sovereign pontiff Zosimus, declaring the doctrines of Pelagius, orthodox and sound in the faith; and the councils in Gaul, Britain, and Africa, and an ecumenical council at Ephesus, pronouncing them heretical, and condemning them with unmitigated severity; and more, the infallible head of that church reversing his own solemn judicatum, and relentlessly persecuting those whom he had protected. It might properly be remarked here, that the emperors condemned those doctrines by their edicts; and on a vital question of scriptural faith were unquestionably more orthodox, if not less fallible, than the head of the church, the legitimate successor to the apostolic throne.

The doctrines of Origen, introduced in the third century, although at the time condemned as fanciful and involved in mysticism, were occasionally revived; but were particularly cherished by the monks. In the East, during the present century, new advocates appeared in defense of Origenism, and many of the bishops of the Eastern churches openly sustained it. At a general council assembled in Constantinople, A. D. 553,¹ by the authority of Justinian, the errors of Origen were condemned. This however did not terminate the controversy.

Eutyches had maintained, that the human nature in Christ was absorbed by the divine, after him arose another sect, known as the Monophysites, who affirmed, that "The two natures were so inti-

¹From the writings of Origen, the following doctrines have been extracted; and were condemned by this council, "In the Trinity, the Father is greater than the Son, and the Son than the Holy Ghost. The soul of Christ was united to the Word before the incarnation. The celestial bodies are animated and endowed with rational souls. As Christ was crucified in this world to save mankind, he will be crucified in the next to save the devils. The souls of men have a pre-existence, and are placed in mortal bodies as a punishment for sins then committed. After the resurrection all bodies will be of a round figure."

mately united as to form one, yet without any confusion, change, or mixture of the two," which mysterious union they explained by saying, that "In Christ there is one nature, but that nature is two-fold and compounded!" Such were the minute shades of difference between these two sects. Both originated in the last century. When in this, the controversy on the revived doctrines of Origen arose, Theodore, bishop of Cæsarea, a zealous Origenist, with a view of diverting the emperor Justinian, from the prosecution of decisive measures against his party, persuaded him that the Monophysites, to whom the emperor was also strongly opposed, might be reconciled to the Church, if the acts of the council of Chalcedon, which declared orthodox what are technically called "The Three Chapters,"¹ were annulled, and the writings of the authors of those chapters which countenanced the doctrines of Nestorius, were also condemned and prohibited. This artful device of the Cæsarean bishop succeeded; and Justinian published an edict in the year 544, condemning those writings and ordering the erasure of "the three chapters" from the canons of that council. As the shrewd and perspicacious bishop had foreseen, this edict excited an animated controversy in the Church, and was particularly opposed by Vigilius, the Roman pontiff. In obedience to the emperor, however, he convened a council of seventy bishops, and in conformity with their decree, he issued an edict formally condemning "the three chapters." This measure of the Roman pontiff was highly offensive to the bishops of Africa and Illyricum, and from their strenuous opposition to this sentence of condemnation against the chapters,² Vigilius was compelled to recall his edict, and to cancel the proceedings of his council. The emperor, resolved upon the accomplishment of his purpose, issued another edict, A. D. 551, confirming the former, and summoned the pontiff to appear at the imperial court in Constantinople. He obeyed the imperial order, and there assented to the measures of Justinian.

With a view of determining this contest by ecclesiastical authority, the emperor convened an ecumenical council at Constantinople in 553; which formally decreed, that "The doctrines of Origen, and those contained in 'the three chapters,' were heretical and pernicious."

Vigilius, intimidated by the decided measures and the threatening language of the African and Illyrican bishops, refused his assent to the decrees of the council. For his contumacy, he was treated

¹ "The three chapters" were the productions of Theodore, of Mopsuestia; Theodoret, of Cyrus; and Ibas, of Edessa. These writings favored the Nestorian doctrines. The council of Chalcedon had, notwithstanding, declared them orthodox. The council of Constantinople, pronounced them heretical and pernicious. Such was the infallibility of these ecclesiastical judicatories.

² Those bishops withdrew from their communion with the Western churches, and declared Vigilius an apostate. They refused to acknowledge his authority, or to re-unite with the churches in the West, until he repealed his edict.

with many personal indignities and banished. Nor was the sentence of his exile withdrawn until he yielded to the emperor the whole ground of controversy. For the fourth time he changed his religious creed; and by a formal edict he pronounced the doctrines of "the three chapters," "execrable blasphemies."

Notwithstanding the indisputable authority conceded by the papal church to the ecumenical councils, and a true and loyal papist swears to profess and to receive as an article of his faith, whatever has been delivered, defined, and declared, by the sacred canons and ecumenical councils of the Church, many of the Western bishops refused to yield their opinions, and to render obedience to the canons of this fifth general council; and some of them withdrew from their communion with the Romish church; for not only Vigilius, but all the pontiffs who have since occupied the chair of St. Peter, have uniformly acknowledged the authority of this council. This schism appears never to have been healed.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

The world was rapidly approaching that period in its history, which is called the "*Dark Age*." Few institutions for the cultivation of letters now existed, and a superstitious prejudice against the writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans, generally prevailed. Gregory the Great, at the close of this century, is said to have destroyed with his own hands, many of those monuments of genius and learning, and to have caused the Capitoline Library in Rome to be burned. Almost the only traces handed down to us of the literary productions of the age, are those of a theological character. Marius, bishop of Avranches, Menander, Justinian, and a few others, are honorable exceptions. Bound down as the age appears to have been, in the fetters of superstition and bigotry, it cannot be a matter of surprise, that there was scarcely an evidence of that progress in religious reformation which had been made in the preceding centuries. We are not, however, to suppose that those occasional and glimmering lights which had appeared above the horizon were extinguished. They were indeed, almost entirely ob-

Note.—Preceding this was another controversy on the Trinity. It arose in the beginning of this century, and became one of sufficient importance to command the attention of the Church. Was it scriptural to affirm, that "one of the Trinity suffered on the cross?" The monks of Scythia, maintained the affirmative. It was admitted, that "one person of the Trinity suffered in the flesh." The Scythian monks were accused by those who maintained this opinion of Eutychianism; whilst they, in reply, charged the abettors of this doctrine with the heresy of the Nestorians. An appeal was made to the pontifical chair; and Hormisdas, the successor of the celebrated Symmachus, decided that the proposition maintained by the Scythians, involved heretical doctrines. John II., the fourth in the succession from Hormisdas, pronounced it strictly in accordance with the orthodox faith of the Church. The council of Constantinople, in 553, by their decree sustained the Scythian faith; and condemned the opinion of Hormisdas.

These conflicting decisions of an infallible head, exposed the pontiffs to the ridicule and contempt of the wise and good.

scured by the overwhelming moral darkness which universally prevailed; but the light which appeared in the Capital of the empire in the middle of the third century, diffused its rays over the extensive and populous provinces of Asia-Minor, and in time, illuminated the mountain regions of the Alps, the Cevennes, and the Pyrenees; until that great luminary of the reformation arose in the beginning of the sixteenth century; which, under the Providence of God, is destined to extend the light of Gospel truth over the whole habitable globe.

During this century (the 6th,) the Novatians had flourishing churches in Persia, in India, in Armenia, in Arabia, in Syria, and the remote countries of the East. These were all religious associations, acknowledging no allegiance to or connection with the Romish hierarchy. Their rites and forms of worship were conformable to their own religious institutions; and their ecclesiastical government, although no doubt, materially changed since the days of their founder Novatian, from its original conformation, still retained the strong features which distinguished it from the Popish church. There are few, if any traces of the Novatians in Europe at this period.

There were however, in Scotland and other portions of the British Isles, distinct religious organizations, maintaining their own doctrines and internal structure, and essentially differing from the Church of Rome.

“Although,” says the author of ‘*The Antiquities of Ireland*,’¹ “St. Austin is reputed the patron saint of England, and the converter of the Anglo-Saxons, yet the honor of this should by no means be ascribed to him alone; to the monks of Ireland, much more than to St. Austin, should this great work be ascribed.”

About the year 565, or thirty years before, Augustine, or St. Austin, as he is called by the popish writers, was sent over to Britain by Gregory the Great; Columba, from his participation in the civil commotions in Ireland, was compelled to leave his native country. He went to Scotland, and, as the same historian remarks, “converted the whole country, so as to die with the glorious title of ‘Apostle of the Picts.’” “Conall, king of Dal-Riada, bestowed on him the Isle of Huy, where he established his chief monastery; and from thence, with his followers, he entered the country of the Picts.” On this island, Columba established also a seminary for the cultivation of literature and the diffusion of knowledge. This acquired a high reputation as a school of instruction. In it his pupils were taught the Holy Scriptures; and when well prepared and qualified, they were sent to propagate the Christian religion, and to plant churches throughout the benighted regions of the North. Columba, thus exiled from his country and cut off from all communication with the Romish church, by a sentence of the

¹ O'Halloran's History of Ireland, vol. 3, p. 152.

Irish clergy, formed in these newly evangelized countries, his own ecclesiastical system. "His followers rejected auricular confession, penance, and absolution; the use of the chrism in baptism, and the rite of confirmation. Opposed the worship of saints and angels; the celibacy of the clergy; the doctrine of the real presence; and placed no reliance upon works of supererogation." They held no communion with the church of Rome. "Their form of government was essentially presbyterian. The members of their synods were called "*Seniores*," or elders, to whom, in their collective capacity, belonged the right of appointing and ordaining those who engaged in the ministerial or missionary office." These, when installed as pastors of particular churches, were called, in the Scriptural sense of the term, bishops, as elders having the oversight of their respective churches. They were all subject to the rules of the College of Huy,¹ at whatever distance from it they might be placed." This sect, known in history, as "Culdees," or "*Cultores Dei*," differed from the Papal church in their time of celebrating the festival of Easter; having adhered to the time of its observance as received by the Asiatic churches.

The marked differences between the Culdee and Romish churches are satisfactorily explained by the circumstances under which the Christian religion was first planted in Ireland.

The Apostle, James, the elder, is supposed to have preached the Gospel in that island; and Mansuetus, a disciple of John, the Evangelist, some time after, passed over into Ireland and propagated its doctrines. As early as the second century, Cathaldus went to Italy as a missionary from the Christian churches in Ireland, which is an evidence of the flourishing condition of those infant churches in that country. In the following century, an Irish bishop was martyred in Britain. The early doctrines, and the forms of worship and government of those churches, were not therefore received from Rome; but were derived directly from the two apostles mentioned, and preserved without any communion with those established on the Continent. Hence it was that they conformed much closer with those of the Asiatic, or Eastern churches, than with those of the Western. In their defense of the time of celebrating Easter, the Irish clergy maintained, that they had received it, not from Rome, but from Asia; and that "they adhered to the custom which St. John and all the churches under him observed."² It was not until the fifth century that any attempt was made by the Roman pontiffs to model the Christian churches in Ireland, agreeably to the Papal hierarchy; and the first missionaries sent over in the year 431, by Celestine, were unsuccessful in the objects of their visit.

Separated from all communion with the corrupt systems which had entirely changed, and thoroughly debased the simplicity and

¹ By some authors written, *Hii*; by others, *Iona*.

² O'Halloran, vol. 3d.

purity of the apostolic church, the forms of the Christian worship in Ireland were still comparatively primitive. So attached were the Irish to those forms, and so averse to the introduction of new and foreign observances, that when St. Patrick carried on his missionary labors, "he neither, in all the time, hinted at a foreign supremacy; nor did he attempt to change their established customs; and provided religion was not materially hurt, he passed over small things." "It is certain," says the same writer, "that before, during, and for two centuries after his death, the Irish church adhered most strictly to the Asiatic churches in their time of celebrating the feast of Easter."¹ Hence the differences which certainly existed between the Irish and Romish churches up to the sixth century.

That the churches planted by Columba must have adopted a system of government still differing from the Irish, is evident from the fact, that he was virtually excised from all communion with them; and averted the formal sentence of an excommunication, by departing under a promise solemnly given, never to return. Although of no higher order himself, than a monk, he ordained others to preach the Gospel, who, in their turn, ordained their successors to the ministerial office; and this line of succession was continued for many centuries. The sect of the Culdees has been traced in the west of Scotland, to a period when the light of reformation reached those remote and but partially civilized corners of the British Isle. Their missionary labors for several centuries after the days of Columba, extended over considerable portions of Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland.

Doddridge states, on the authority of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, that "In the year 668, the successors of Austin being almost extinct in England, by far the greater part of the bishops were of Scottish ordination, by Aidan and Finan, who came out of the Culdee monastery; and were nothing more than presbyters, but were made bishops by the northern princes whom they converted."—Baxter confirms this statement, and says, "The ordination of bishops by Scottish presbyters never was objected to."

Five hundred years had expired since the days of the last of the apostles. The Church had gone through many changes in its doctrines, its forms of worship, and government. Revolutions in empires had occurred; and old dynasties had been swept away. But through all these mutations in the Church, and in the political affairs of nations, there was one power advancing onward to universal dominion, with an unflinching step, and with a vigilance that never slumbered. Whilst century after century passed on, the prize seemed almost within its grasp; but at the termination of the sixth century that object had not been attained. The bearer of the cross, who was also the aspirant to a crown, had an equal and a

¹ O'Halloran's Ireland.

rival, who disregarded his pretensions, contemned his menaces, and prescribed limits to his usurpations. The patriarch of the East was not inferior in dignities and honors, and in his spiritual prerogatives to the pontiff of the West. In their contest for pre-eminence, they were equally ambitious; equally overbearing and audacious; equally unscrupulous of the means for the accomplishment of their purposes. Their contests were carried on with equal animosity; and with a total disregard, on both sides, of the dictates of reason and of humanity, and of the precepts of religion. By their lofty pretensions and uncompromising spirit, they disturbed the peace of society, and occasioned a schism in the Christian Church which has descended to the present age, unhealed and irreparable.

Whilst these spiritual potentates were contending for supremacy in the Christian Church, and corrupting the purity of its religion, another enemy, but more open and avowed, to the Kingdom of Christ, appeared in the deserts of Arabia; who proclaimed, that "he was commissioned by God to destroy polytheism and idolatry; to reform first the religion of the Arabians, and then to purify the Jewish and Christian worship. This was Mohammed. The dissensions and divisions existing in the Christian Church, encouraged his undertaking, and facilitated his progress. The world was destined to see a pontiff in Rome, a patriarch in Constantinople, and a prophet in Medina, each claiming to be the sole depositary of the true faith, and the right to exercise the "highest spiritual and temporal jurisdiction over the faithful; and to witness, in time, contentions for the succession; in the Christian Church, to the apostasy; and in the Mohammedan, to the caliphate; equally bitter, vindictive, and intolerant.

Some of the popish writers, on the authority of Baronius of the sixteenth century, affirm, that Phocas, the emperor of Constantinople, conceded to Boniface III. the title of Universal Bishop. This is generally believed however, to be a very questionable authority; not only from the silence of all previous ecclesiastical writers, but from the well known unfaithfulness of Baronius, and from his bigoted attachment for the Romish church. Phocas, it is true, had usurped the throne by the murder of the reigning emperor, Mauritius, and was a prince of abandoned character; and therefore, might easily have been induced to confer this distinction on the Roman pontiff, by bribery and indulgences, to gratify his rapacity and to quiet the compunctions of his conscience. Upon this supposition only, rests the probability of this concession. But upon a supposition, strengthened by the well known ambition of Boniface, and the avarice and profligacy of Phocas, and without a shadow of evidence, the popish church has advanced this pretended concession to the bishop of Rome as an indisputable admission of his rightful supremacy over the universal Church of Christ. This concession, nevertheless, made by a cruel and abandoned tyrant, if made in

fact, has been assumed as a foundation upon which the temporal power of the popes is supposed to have been erected.

Another fraudulent attempt to impose upon the Christian world, the belief that Constantine Pogonatus, voluntarily yielded to the Roman pontiff the right which the emperors had uniformly exercised from the days of Constantine the Great, of confirming the elections of the bishops of that see, was made in the ninth century by Anastasius, the Historian. He says, that by an edict, Pogonatus directed "the immediate ordination of a pontiff after his election;" and hence it has been inferred that the spiritual independence of the popes was thereby established. It is not known upon what authority the historian advanced his statement; and although he might have been correct as to the fact of the publication of an edict, it is certain that the ordination of the pontiffs was long after this century, suspended until the formal assent of the emperors had been obtained.

But the statement of Anastasius is directly contradicted by the historical records of the times. This right of confirming the elections of the Roman bishops, although absolutely vested in the emperors as the controlling heads of the Church, had been delegated by the predecessors of Pogonatus to the exarchs of Ravenna, resumable at their will. The exarchs, in the exercise of this right, acted as the representatives of the emperors, and subservient to their dictation; so that the mere exercise of the right, was for the time, ostensibly in these viceroys of the empire, but was an appurtenant to the crown. So far then from this right having been abandoned by Constantine Pogonatus, as stated by Anastasius, he resumed the exercise of that right in his own person, divesting the exarchs of their delegated power; and by his edict declared, that "The bishop elect should not be ordained until his election had been notified to the court of Constantinople, and the imperial decree confirming it, was received by the electors at Rome." The only indulgence or privilege which appears to have been extended to the pontiff by the emperor in this edict, was "an abatement of the sum, which, since the time of Theodoric, the bishops of Rome had been obliged to pay to the imperial treasury, before they could be ordained, or have their election confirmed."

The authentic histories of this age incontestably prove, that the ecclesiastical orders, and indeed the whole Church, were entirely under the government and the arbitrary control of the emperors. All their acts were subject to their inspection and reversal. They in effect exalted to the highest dignities and preferments whom they pleased; and the power of deposing from the highest stations, either in the state or in the church, was exercised by them at their pleasure. The subordination, both of the patriarch and the pontiff, to the civil authorities, cannot be questioned; and the temporal prince placed in the succession to the apostolic seat the candi-

date whom he approved. The ambitious pretensions of those spiritual lords were repeatedly in this century opposed and defeated, not only by the emperors, but by the subordinate princes of the empire.

Notwithstanding the entire subservience of the ecclesiastical to the civil power, the Roman pontiffs never relaxed in their energies, and in their efforts to enlarge and strengthen their jurisdiction. Whatever new privileges they obtained by fraud and cunning, or by the voluntary indulgence of a weak or indolent emperor, they tenaciously secured. Each preceding century had beheld them continually advancing in power. Each succeeding century, from this period, witnessed an increasing accession of prerogatives; until the highest hopes of their ambition were realized, and they became "the masters of the world."

The unmeaning, but angry controversy on the hypostatical union of two natures in Christ, which had created dissensions and fatal schisms in the Church during the last century, was renewed in this. The Nestorians and the Monophysites had withdrawn from the Greek empire, and settled; the former in Persia and the latter in Syria and Egypt. They established flourishing churches in those countries. Mohammed and his successors protected the Nestorians; and there is still existing an instrument of writing which has been imposed upon the world as the Testament of that prophet, securing to that Christian sect, the enjoyment of their religion and their temporal rights.

About the year 630, another sect arose, known as the Monothelites.¹ These sprung out of and were properly a branch from the Eutychians; so far as their confused jargon can be understood, they maintained that with regard to the two natures in Christ, there were two wills. But by reason of the intimate union of those two natures, there was in fact, but one will in Jesus Christ, and one operation of the mind. The emperor was persuaded, that if the doctrine of "one will and one operation in Christ," were received by the Greek Church, the differences existing between the discordant sects which had created such unfortunate schisms, might be reconciled. To avert the evils which had arisen from the emigrations out of the empire, he accordingly published an edict in the year 630, in which he sustained that doctrine; and believed that no further controversy would arise, and that peace would be restored. This edict was at first received favorably. The patriarchs of Antioch and of Alexandria assented to the doctrine. The opinion of the Roman pontiff was not consulted; as this question was one in which the Eastern church was more particularly inter-

¹The terms which have been used as the distinguishing titles of the different sects, explain more concisely their respective doctrines. In the Greek, from which they are derived, Monophysite means *monos*, single, and *phusis*, nature. Monothelite, *monos*, single; and *thelema*, will. Eutychian, from Eutyches, the founder of the sect.

ested. A council at Alexandria confirmed it by a solemn decree ; and the prospects of harmony in the Church became still more flattering, by the voluntary return into the empire, of many of those sects who had left it on account of the religious differences which had disturbed the public peace. But the controversy was not long after renewed ; and the breach was widened by the condemnation of the Monothelites by a patriarchal council at Jerusalem, and the imputation of heresy to their doctrines. Honorius I., who then occupied the papal chair, seconded the views of the emperor, and sustained the doctrine, that “in Jesus Christ there was, after the union of the two natures, but one will and one operation.” In his judgment on this question, he appears to have been guided by the influence of the patriarch of Constantinople. To silence the objections which had thus excited fresh dissensions in the Church, another edict¹ was published by the emperor in the year 639, reaffirming the doctrine of “one will ;” and forbidding any further controversy on the subject. John IV., who was now in the chair of St. Peter, summoned a council in Rome which rejected the emperor’s “exposition of the faith,” and sustained the decree of the council of Jerusalem, by formally condemning the doctrine of “one will and one operation.” The current of public opinion seemed to have been changed ; and what had been declared by all the churches, except that of Jerusalem, to be orthodox in 635, was almost universally, in 648, pronounced heretical. In that year, Constans, who had succeeded to the imperial throne, formally revoked² the edict of Heraclius, and commanded the parties to terminate the controversy. This measure, which seemed to have been dictated by wisdom and Christian forbearance, failed to produce the desired result. The Roman pontiff, Martin I., in the following year, in a council of one hundred and five bishops, assembled in Rome, condemned the several edicts of the two emperors, Heraclius and Constans, and “thundered out the most dreadful anathemas against the Monothelites and their patrons, whom they solemnly consigned to the devil and his angels.”

For this presumptuous act, Constans ordered Martin to be arrested and transported to Naxos, an island in the Grecian Archipelago, where he was detained a prisoner, and an exile from his see, for the period of twelve months. The exarch of Italy, who was commissioned to execute the sentence against the pontiff, is charged with having exercised an undue severity in the discharge of this duty. The monks had urged the pontiff to the inconsiderate and dangerous measure he had adopted, in his opposition to the imperial formulary ; as the injunction of silence which it imposed upon the controversialists, deprived them of the means of disturbing the peace of the Church, and exciting contentions and discord, to which

¹Called “the Ethesis.”

²By an edict, termed “the Type,” or “Formulary.”

their indolent habits peculiarly disposed them. These also were the objects of the emperor's vengeance, who inflicted exemplary and merited punishment upon those who were the principal agents in the measures of defiance against his authority.

In the year 680 the sixth ecumenical council was convened at Constantinople, by the emperor Constantine Pogonatus. In this council the doctrines of the Monothelites were condemned as heretical; and Honorius, who was then dead, was included by name in this sentence of condemnation. The legates of the reigning pope, Agatho, were present, and confirmed by their assent the validity of this decree. If then, the infallibility of this general council dictated a righteous and just judgment against Honorius, what conclusion are we to draw as to the nature of that heresy for which he, an equally infallible head of the Church, was anathematized? This would be a metaphysical question that might profitably employ the time and talents of the learned doctors of the Sorbonne, in its solution.

Another council was assembled in the year 692, which has been considered as a supplement to the two preceding councils held in the same city; one in the year 553, and the other in 680. This has been called the "Council in Trullo," or Cupola, from the form of the building; and was convened by the order of Justinian II. The decrees of this council are received by the universal church, as of equal authority with the decrees of any other of the ecumenical councils convened in this or in any subsequent age. But the Papal church has undertaken, by its own authority, to rescind six of its canons, which were directly opposed to its rites and observances; and one particularly which admitted the equal rank and authority of the patriarch of Constantinople with the pontiff of Rome. The canon which allows the marriage of priests; that which condemns the Sabbath fast instituted by the Latin church; that which prescribes the most rigid abstinence from blood and things strangled; that which prohibits the representing Christ under the image of a lamb; and that which approves of the eighty-five apostolic canons of Clement; have all been erased from the canonical register of the Romish church.

The history of that church, shows that it has been the practice, not only of the ecclesiastical body, but of the writers belonging to it, from the earliest ages, to mutilate the records of ecumenical and other councils, by erasures or interpolations, with a view of adapting them to the rites and ceremonies, to the doctrines and government, which have been established by it. The works of those writers themselves, have been defaced and corrupted by those of a more modern date, to give to their opinions an appearance of coincidence with the more recent forms and doctrines of the Church.¹ Such disfigured and forged copies of the canonical registers, and

¹Daille, on the Fathers.

of the works of the ancient writers, are now unblushingly referred to, to confirm the pretension openly professed of the great antiquity of its observances, and to establish its claims to infallibility.

The attempts of Zosimus, of Boniface, and of Leo, in the fifth century, to impose forged canons of the council of Nice upon the world, and which were at once detected and exposed, have been mentioned. Dionysius Exiguus, in the sixth century, published what he promised should be a correct and faithful digest of all the canons of the several councils convened at different periods, up to his time. That collection has been republished more recently in Paris, "by permission of his most catholic majesty," and is referred to, as of the highest authority, by the popish church, in all ecclesiastical matters embraced by it. Notwithstanding this high authority which has been attached to it, the innumerable omissions of important canons which have been discovered throughout that work, and the false statements it contains, must destroy its character of authenticity, with all who are in search of a correct history of the Church before the sixth century. In his transcript of the canons of the council at Laodicea, he has inserted only a part of that which prescribed to the universal church, what books of the Old and New Testaments should be received as canonical, omitting that part of it which proscribed the books of the Maccabees; of the wisdom of Solomon; of Ecclesiasticus; of Tobit; of Judith, &c., which books the Pope, Innocent I., had declared to be canonical. The sixth canon of the council of Constantinople, A. D. 381, vested in the provincial diocesan synods, the power of an absolute judgment in the trial and deposition of bishops; as this was a positive abnegation of any right of jurisdiction in the matter, in the bishop of Rome, Dionysius has accordingly omitted it. The eighth canon of the council of Ephesus, A. D. 431, admitting the power of the subordinate bishops of Cyprus to ordain each other, to the exclusion of the patriarch of Antioch; has also been excluded from the collection, as it militated against the prerogatives of the primates of the Church.¹

The writings of Cyprian of the third century, have received no better favor from these "mischievous knaves,"² as they have been called by Laurentius, in his "decrees of the Gallican church." From these have been expunged whatever admissions have been found in them of the people participating in the regulation and government of the affairs of the Church. But it is beyond my limits to multiply examples. The history of the Church is full of these piratical depredations. These fraudulent corruptions of the writings of the fathers, have not only embraced entire pages, but have descended to sentences, and sometimes to words, as the change of

¹ Daille, on the right use of the Fathers.

² "Vae, iterum vae, ut cum Vidente exclamem, *Nebulonibus*," &c.

Petram, a rock, into Petrum, the apostle ; of Papa Urbis, the bishop of a city, into Papa Orbis, the bishop of the world. Where Augustine, writing on the eucharist, remarks of the elements, "This is a figure;" some modern interpolator, to give an appearance of antiquity to the doctrine of transubstantiation, has inserted, "a heretic will say;" and would impose the belief that this was the doctrine of the fourth century, although it is well established, that it was not an article of faith before the thirteenth century, under the pontificate of Innocent III., and first made so by the twelfth general council (fourth of Lateran,) in Rome.

The historians of this age concur in their representations of the entire depravity of morals which prevailed, not only among the people, but also among the clergy. "In the places consecrated to the advancement of piety, and the service of God, there was little else to be seen than ghostly ambition, insatiable avarice, pious frauds, intolerable pride, and a supercilious contempt of the natural rights of the people. Neither bishops, presbyters, deacons, nor even the cloistered monks, were exempt from the general contagion."¹ With this general corruption of morals, an era of mental darkness was approaching, and the cultivation of letters began to be neglected. This age presents few writers of distinction.

Besides the contest still carried on with obstinacy and bitterness, between the heads of the Eastern and Western churches, whose sole object was pre-eminence of rank; the subordinate bishops and monks were engaged in an angry warfare, which produced dissensions in the bosom of the Church, and destroyed the principles of vital religion in the heart. The monks had ministered to the extravagance and luxury and to the sensual indulgences of the bishops, by exactions from the people. But unable to satisfy their unceasing and exorbitant demands, these indolent ecclesiastics, not less corrupt than their superiors, resorted to the pontiffs for relief. The pontiffs, themselves as depraved as they were ambitious, received them as efficient instruments by whom the no less aspiring bishops might be controlled. This coalition between the pontiffs and the monks, procured in time, for the monastic orders, a concession of privileges from the episcopal power, which was in the end productive of the most serious evils to society.

In this century, Boniface V. constituted the places of public worship, asylums for fugitives from justice. The churches thus converted into sanctuaries for the protection of the most abandoned malefactors, as the heathen temples had been, acquired a character of sanctity with the superstitious, and imparted to the clergy a religious reverence and awe.

As wealth accumulated in the Church, and ignorance became more deeply rooted in the people, the rites and ceremonies of public worship multiplied, and were observed with increased solemnity.

¹Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, 7th century.

ties. The sacerdotal vestments were richly ornamented, and the whole religious service was conducted under forms the most seductive and imposing.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

The successors of Columba in Scotland, propagated the gospel, not only on the British isles, but many nations on the continent, as the Suevi, the Franks, the Frieslanders, (Holland,) &c. were converted to Christianity by their missionary labors. The churches established by them among those savage tribes, were early induced to conform with the Romish church, in their rites, ceremonies, and government. The pontiffs erected amongst them episcopal dioceses; and one of the missionaries was ordained arch-bishop of Witeberg, (Utrecht,) and remained in his episcopal charge until his death.

But the churches of Scotland long preserved their ecclesiastical independence; and were therefore not contaminated by the superstitions of popery. For many ages after, they maintained their own peculiar government and religious observances.

At this period the supremacy of the Pope, as may clearly be deduced from history, was not fully established, either in Gaul or Spain. Even in Italy itself, his authority was disputed by many of the pious and devout of the clergy; by some of the bishops, and by the more enlightened portion of the people. "The bishop of Ravenna, and other prelates refused an implicit submission to his orders." The doctrine of divine right was evidently not the universally received doctrine even in the Western church.

The last and the present century, whose history we are now tracing, were prolific of angry and obstinate discussions on doctrinal points. The intolerant spirit with which these controversies were conducted, drove out of the East, as out of the West, great numbers of those, who, opposed by the civil and ecclesiastical powers, became the objects of persecution. The schism produced by the pusillanimity of Vigilius, and the withdrawal of the bishops of Africa and Illyricum, and of many of the western bishops, from communion with the Romish church, must have driven beyond the jurisdiction of the pontiffs, many who were disaffected towards the government and doctrines of that church. At this period, or in the middle of the sixth century, and afterward, as those controversies were renewed, it has been supposed that settlements were made in the valleys of Piedmont, into whose secluded retreats those who were thus disaffected retired for the peaceable and quiet enjoyment of their religious rights and privileges. There can be no doubt, that from this date or the year 553, a community of Christians may be traced, who in those valleys, preserved the pure worship of God; and transmitted through their descendants to future ages, the rites, government, and doctrines of a church distinct

from and independent of the Popish church of Rome. These are known in the history of the Church of Christ, many centuries after this period, as the Waldenses, or people of the valleys; and formed a celebrated body of Protestant dissenters in the middle ages.¹

In the middle of this century, probably earlier, the Paulicians in Asia-Minor began to attract the attention of the Christian world. How long before this period they existed as a party is not certainly known. Mosheim says, that "Constantine revived the drooping faction in the reign of Constans, which was now ready to expire." Constans II. reigned from the year 641 to 668, from which we may infer, that it had, some time before this, exerted an influence which was now on the decline. What connection there was, if any, between this sect and that of the Novatians is not certainly known; but the coincidence of their having been a flourishing party in the provinces of Asia, which had been the seats of the Novatian churches, would seem to give a degree of plausibility at least to the conjecture that one was but the revival of the other under a new name. The popish writers have traced their origin from the Manichæans in the latter part of the third century; which was the period when the Novatians began to extend their churches throughout the Roman empire. As to the charge alledged against them of maintaining the doctrines of that branch of the Gnostics, Gibbon has stated, that "they sincerely condemned the memory and opinions of the Manichæan sect, and complained of the injustice which impressed that invidious name on the simple votaries of St. Paul and of Christ." The writer on "the Middle Ages" has also vindicated their character from the aspersions of the papists, by saying, that "There is every reason to suppose the Paulicians, notwithstanding their mistakes, were endowed with sincere and zealous piety, and studious of the Scriptures." The imputation of the papists against them can have no weight with those who know the uniform character of the writers of the Romish church. Their misrepresentations on this subject are only in consistency with an established principle of popery, and an article of faith, drawn from a maxim of the Platonists and the Pythagoreans, that "It is not only lawful, but even praiseworthy to deceive, and even to use the expedient of a lie, in order to advance the cause of truth and piety." This cause the papists identify with the Romish church; and have directed the force of that maxim to sustain the power and interests of that church; and they have been exceedingly ingenious in every age, in attaching reproach to the dissenters who have attempted to reform its abuses and corruptions.

Constantine² of Samosata, in Syria, having received a copy of the New Testament, devoted his time to the study of the Christian

¹See chronological table, A. D. 314.

²He was a native of Mananalis, near Samosata.

doctrines. At this early period it appears that the people were prohibited from reading the Holy Scriptures. Constantine received his copy from the hands of a deacon. The Epistles of Paul particularly attracted his attention, and were the subjects of his most devoted meditations. From this source he seems to have drawn his religious creed. He rejected the second Epistle of Peter, and the Apocalypse. He adopted the name of Sylvanus, from the disciple who accompanied Paul when he visited the churches of Syria and Cilicia. His own disciples assumed, in imitation, the names of those disciples mentioned in the Scriptures, as more immediately connected with that apostle of the Gentiles in the propagation of the gospel, and the planting of the primitive churches in Asia. Titus, Timothy, Tychicus, &c., were the distinguishing titles of his early and zealous followers; and his congregations severally assumed the names of the Apostolic churches. They abjured the worship of idols; rejected relics; attached no religious reverence to the visible cross; received the bread and wine in the communion, as symbols of grace; refused to render to the Virgin Mary the worship due to Christ; and in fine, abolished all adoration of sensible objects. They rejected the Old Testament, with which they were probably little acquainted; and entertained peculiar notions on the incarnation of Christ and his impassibility on the cross. They abolished all distinctions of orders in the priesthood; rejecting the title of presbyter and elder, because it was one known in the Jewish synagogue.

Petrus Seculus, who was sent by Basilius, the Macedonian, as an ambassador to Tibrice, to propose an exchange of prisoners in the year 870, has charged them with maintaining in their religious creed the existence of two deities; one, *evil*, and the creator of the world; the other, *good*, and the author of that which is to come. Whether this doctrine, and the peculiar notions with respect to the incarnation of Christ and his impassibility, were entertained by them as a sect, is questionable. The affirmative is sustained on the authority of Petrus Seculus, who was a bigoted religionist, and a prejudiced witness; and his opinion should be rejected as unworthy of belief. He was an enemy and a persecutor of the Paulicians.¹ We are moreover informed by history, that the remnants of the Gnostic sects, particularly of the Manichæans, alike the objects of persecution, united themselves with Constantine Sylvanus and his followers; and hence, no doubt, the imputation of Manichæism which has been attached to them by the papists, but for which they have no other testimony than that of their own writers.

The Paulicians received that title from their avowed attachment to the character and writings of Paul the Apostle; from whose

¹As an evidence of the bigotry and savage temper of Petrus Seculus, in his account of the cruelties inflicted on the Paulicians, "He relates their sufferings," says Gibbon, "with satisfaction and pleasantry."

Epistles they drew directly their religious opinions. In their ecclesiastical government, their ordinances, and doctrines, they differed from the Greek, as well as from the Latin church. They were therefore, the objects of cruel and relentless persecution, from the period of their revival, in the reign of Constans, for successive centuries after, until their final dispersion over the western countries of Europe. In the reign of Justinian II., who rivaled in cruelty Nero and Caligula, they were pursued with fire and sword; and their sufferings were aggravated by every act of barbarity which could be devised by an unfeeling enemy.

Sylvanus, himself, after a ministry of twenty-seven years, was cruelly put to death. "But from the blood and ashes of the first victims," says Gibbon, "a succession of teachers and congregations successively arose."

CHAPTER VI.

THE history of this century is replete with the most memorable and important events, which form a new era in the political affairs of Europe, and in the Church.

In its commencement, the Eastern empire is presented to us distracted by the contentions for the sovereignty; five usurpers having occupied the throne within the period of twenty-two years.—The Bulgarii and the Saracens, taking advantage of these civil wars and intestine commotions, made incursions on its provinces, and possessed themselves of many of its cities. The exarchate of Ravenna, which had been an appendage of the empire, was conquered by Astolphus, one of the Lombard kings of Italy. About thirty years after, Desiderius, the last of that race, was in turn, conquered by Charlemagne, who at the close of the century, established a new Western empire, and erected an ecclesiastical state; thereby constituting the pope a temporal prince in Europe. Jerusalem had been conquered in 606 by Omar, the successor of Mohammed, and remained under the government of the Mussulmans. In the year 712, Spain was conquered by the Saracens.

These are some of the remarkable events which occurred in this century, and which affected immediately or remotely, the interests of the Christian Church.

A greater part of Germany was yet pagan; and the Saxons, who were a warlike, and but partially civilized race, occupied the greater portion of that extensive country. By the conquests of Charlemagne, and the missionary exertions of the Papists, they were converted to the faith.

Amid these convulsions and revolutions of states, as might be supposed, the cause of literature, as well as of vital religion, suffered. Instruction was confined, for the most part, to the elementary branches. The disrepute into which the philosophy of Plato had fallen, by reason of the false doctrines which had been introduced into the Church and drawn from its principles, prepared the public mind for the introduction of the system of Aristotle, which soon acquired a reputation in all the schools, and in a short time entirely supplanted the philosophy of the Academics.

The conversions from paganism, were not so much to the religion of the gospel, as to the superstitious rites of the Romish church; and the missionaries who bore the cross presented it as of itself an object of worship, and labored more zealously to establish the government of the Pope, than to extend the spiritual kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The distracted state of the Eastern empire, and the persecution which was carried on by the Saracens against the Christians, together with the loss of its Italian territories, severally tended to weaken the Greek church and the influence of the patriarchate of Constantinople. On the other hand, the civil and political changes in the West, contributed to the wealth and to the power of the Papal see.

By artifice and a system of interference with the temporal affairs of Europe, based upon the most corrupt and abandoned principles, the popes succeeded in securing to their interests, the most powerful princes of the time. The Merovingian family had occupied the throne of France for nearly three hundred years; a new dynasty of kings who were destined to control the nations of Europe, was about to supplant them, and to seize the reins of government. Was it consistent with the divine law, to dethrone by violence a reigning monarch, and to substitute a subject who might rule the empire with a stronger arm? Pepin, the mayor of the palace, had removed all obstacles to his accession to the throne of Childeric III., but the decision of this question in his favor; and this decision was confided to the Roman pontiff. Zachary, whose situation called for the aid of a foreign ally, and who saw in the success of Pepin, his only resource against the perils which surrounded him, decided on the morality of the act, and satisfied the conscientious scruples of the usurper. The treason against the legitimate monarch was consummated; Childeric was deposed; and the founder of the Carolingian dynasty was elevated to the throne. Stephen II., the successor of Zachary, went afterward to France, and with due solemnity released Pepin from the obligations of his allegiance to Childeric, which he had three years before violated; anointed, and crowned him king of France. In return, Pepin invaded the territories of Astolphus, and compelled him to relinquish to Stephen the exarchate of Ravenna, which he had severed from the

Eastern empire, with Pentapolis, and all the territories of the dukedom; which were vested forever in the reigning pope and his successors. This was in the year 755, and is the true epoch of the temporal power of the pope. In 774, Charlemagne, having overthrown the kingdom of the Lombards, confirmed to Adrian I. the possessions granted to the papal see, and in the fulness of his religious veneration, enlarged them by additional concessions. It is, however, to be remembered that these investitures, and all the territorial possessions of the popes, including the capital itself, were held as feudal tenures with some supposed modifications of the terms under which the fiefs were universally held in that age. Whilst this great conqueror of the West, was thus bestowing with a liberal hand the Roman territories which he had acquired by conquest, he still retained that jurisdiction over ecclesiastical affairs which had been exercised, undisputed, by the Eastern emperors from the time of Constantine the Great.

“At a council of bishops assembled in Rome, Adrian conferred upon him and his successors, the right of election to the see of Rome.” Although this power appears not to have been exercised either by Charlemagne or his successors, to the full extent with which it was claimed by them and conceded by the pontiffs, they effectually controlled those elections, and determined at their will the succession to the apostolic chair. The vacancies were filled, apparently by the clergy and the people, (for the latter still had a voice in the election,) but in reality by the emperors. Their approval was necessary before the candidate could be ordained; and the ceremony of ordination was not performed, but in the presence of an ambassador from the imperial court. The pontiff, and all orders of the clergy, were amenable to the civil laws; and judicial officers, known as envoys, were commissioned to take cognizance of all matters appertaining to the Church, and to punish offenders. Each church and monastery paid an annual tribute into the public treasury by an assessment determined by a law of the empire.

Another restriction imposed upon the pontiff, or rather one not removed, was the right of the provincial bishops to decide on all matters in controversy among themselves, in their own councils; and without an appeal to the papal court. The emperors retained and exercised the power of convening ecumenical and other councils; and of expressing, or withholding their approval of their proceedings, without which their acts were nugatory and void. Such was the true state of the Church throughout this century.

In the early part of this century, an angry controversy arose between the party called Iconoduli, or the defenders, but more properly the worshippers of images, and that of the Iconoclastae, or destroyers of images. The worship of images had become deeply engrafted in the rites of the Church, both in the East and West, and religiously observed, through the cunning and avarice of the

clergy, to whom it was a source of immense wealth. The flame of contention was kindled in the year 712, by Philippicus Bardanes, the Greek emperor, who ordered a picture to be taken down and removed out of the church of St. Sophia; and commanded the Roman pontiff to divest the Latin churches of those which had been introduced into them. Constantine not only refused obedience to this imperial mandate, but increased their numbers; and in a council of bishops declared Philippicus an apostate. The emperor was soon after dethroned, and hostilities between the parties were suspended.

On the accession of Leo III. the Isaurian, the contention was renewed. That emperor in the year 726, published an edict against the worship of images, and enforced the destruction of them in a great part of the empire. But the pontiffs of Rome, Gregory II and III, resisted these measures successively, and Leo was at length formally excommunicated by the papal court. The insurrections in the Italian provinces of the Greek empire, in consequence of this sentence, excited in the highest degree the anger of the emperor. He convened a council in Constantinople, by whom the patriarch Germanus was degraded from his office, for having defended the worship of images. He enacted several laws against the party of the Iconoduli; confiscated the papal possessions in Sicily, &c.; and reduced their churches in those countries, as well as the churches in Illyricum, to the spiritual jurisdiction of the see of Constantinople.

Constantine IV., surnamed Copronymus, prosecuted the measures, which his father Leo had commenced, against the worshippers of images. A council was convened by him in the year 754, at Constantinople. There were three hundred and thirty-eight bishops assembled. By this council the use as well as the worship of images was condemned. But the decrees of this council have been rejected by the church of Rome. The monks were so intemperate in their opposition to them, that the emperor was compelled to inflict upon them the severest penalties of the law. So difficult was it to eradicate from the minds of the ignorant and the superstitious, this deeply rooted prejudice in favor of idolatrous worship.

After the death of Leo IV., the son and successor of Constantine, who was poisoned by Irene, the partner of his bed and of his throne, the cause of the Iconoduli triumphed. This profligate woman, to strengthen her authority, as queen regent during the minority of her son, formed an alliance with Adrian the reigning pope. At a council convened by her at Nice, in Bithynia, in the year 787, a decree was passed, which restored the images to their places in the temples, and declared their worship to be consistent with the word of God, and sanctioned by the fathers. Nay more, severe penalties were enacted against those who should maintain that "God was the only object of religious adoration." God has ex-

pressly commanded in the Decalogue, that "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve;" "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing, &c." Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them, &c." Notwithstanding these plain declarations of the Holy Scriptures, an ecumenical council of the Church has solemnly decreed, that the worship of images is agreeable to the word of God, and that God himself is not the only object to be adored. Eight hundred years after this blasphemous decree of the papal church, pope Pius IV., published his famous creed as a rule of faith, by which every papist swears, "To receive and to profess all things which have been declared by the sacred canons and ecumenical councils." The Church has registered the decrees of this council, as canons which must be professed and received as articles of faith; and therefore, whosoever shall dare to abjure one of them will incur its severest anathemas and be excommunicated and accursed.

But the worship of images, has not been sanctioned by the fathers, nor were they introduced into the churches until the fourth century. Chrysostom, who flourished in the close of the fourth century, says "Through the Scriptures we enjoy the presence of the saints, having the images not of their bodies, but of their souls." Amphilochus says, "Our care is, not to draw in colors on tables, the natural faces of the saints (for we have no need of any such thing,) but rather imitate their life and conversation." Asterius, "Draw not the portrait of Christ on thy garments, &c." Tertullian, Clemens, Alexandrinus, Origen, and others, were so religiously opposed to the use of images or representations, as forbidden by the second commandment, that they believed paintings and engravings were unlawful to Christians, and pronounced them evil and wicked acts. The introduction of paintings into the churches, which was sometime in the fourth century, as ornaments, gave rise to this species of idolatry. In the fifth, these pictorial representations of the saints decorated the temples of worship both in the East and West; but statues were forbidden as objects of pagan superstition and worship. As late as the beginning of the seventh century, pope Gregory, the Great, discountenanced the acts of devotion which then evinced the religious veneration with which they were received. There can be no doubt that even in the fifth century they were objects of private adoration, but without the sanction of the fathers or the Church.

From the second council of Nice, in the year 787, and not before, the worship of images was made a part of the public service. The decrees of the several councils of Constantinople, in the years 680, 692 and 754, condemned it as pagan idolatry. The Latin churches surpassed their co-temporaries in their devotion and zeal. Those of France, Germany, England and Spain, admitted them as ornaments of the sanctuary, or as memorials of faith, but not as

objects of divine adoration. At a much later period than the eighth century, we may date the introduction amongst them of this species of idolatry. Although in the East, the efforts of the emperors to abolish this worship were zealously and obstinately opposed by the people, and through the influence of pope Adrian, in the year 787, an Asiatic council established it by its solemn decree, the Greek church had not fallen so deeply into this corruption of religion as that of Rome. It prohibited the introduction, into the sanctuary, of images, as objects of devotion as late as the eleventh century; but by a species of metaphysical refinement they were used as mediums through which prayers were offered to those represented by them. They worshipped not the images themselves; as believing them endowed with an inherent and peculiar sanctity which the Latins professed. Whilst the latter "bowed down to them and worshipped them;" the former honored them with a relative worship, as the sacella or tabernacles of the true objects of their adoration.

The decrees of the council of Nice, were sanctioned and defended by Adrian; but Charlemagne, who had acquired a sovereignty over the States of Italy by his conquests, and controlled the ecclesiastical as well as the civil government, assembled at Frankfort on the Maine, a council of three hundred bishops, which unanimously condemned the worship of images. Thus in the year 794, closed for this century the controversy between the parties.

Another question arose about the year 767, in a council convened at Gentilli, near Paris, on the procession of the Holy Ghost. Whether it proceeded from the Father only, or from the Father and the Son? The Greeks maintained the former, and the latter was defended by the Latins. This seems to have originated with the Greeks, who had been accused of heresy for their opposition to the worship of images by the Western churches. They retorted on their adversaries by a similar charge of heresy on the Latins for believing in this procession from the Father and the Son; and accused them of interpolating the decrees of the council of Constantinople, which declared that "the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father only." In the Latin translation of the canons of that council, the words "*filioque*" had been secretly inserted, to give to that doctrine the sanction of the council. This has been the uniform practice of the Romish church. It is well known that the Latin copies of the canons adopted by the ecumenical councils in the East, are corrupt translations of the original documents, and seldom correspond with them where the decrees of those councils are at variance with the rites, doctrines, or pretensions of the papal hierarchy.

In this century, solitary masses were first introduced, in which the priest alone makes a propitiation for souls in purgatory. This has been in all ages a source of wealth to the clergy; as the efficacy

of the masses thus celebrated, at the instance of the relatives of the deceased, depended upon the liberality and munificence of the do-nary.

Another source of wealth was "the price of transgression." This was paid by Pepin for his rebellion against his sovereign. Kings and princes became willing tributaries; and enriched the Church by costly gifts and by the endowments of cities and provinces. The price of transgression was commensurate with the enormity of the guilt and the wealth of the offender. There was with the Church an ample provision for pardon and the redemption of the soul under all the circumstances of its commission.

At this period the superstitious dread of an excommunication from the Church began to take deep root in the popular mind. An exclusion from ecclesiastical privileges was considered a just forfeiture of all claims to the common rights of humanity. This belief, fostered and strengthened by the clergy for their own sinister purposes, invested a power in the Church which was destined to reach the most powerful princes upon their thrones; and to give to the Roman pontiff a control over the political affairs of nations, as well as over the domestic relations of life. The humble tenant of a cottage, and the proud monarch of an imperial palace, became equally the objects and the victims of a power, which, claiming its commission from the throne of divine mercy, was inexorable in its demands and merciless in its inflictions.

The moral state of the Church, which had been for several centuries becoming more debased, was at this time most vicious and corrupt. In the East, the dissensions amongst the highest orders of the clergy were maintained with the utmost virulence and animosity; and not unfrequently terminated in violence and assassinations. In the West, the most licentious conduct, dissipation, sensual enjoyments, and an inordinate passion for pleasure, wealth and power, were the universal characteristics. It is difficult to account for the fact, from any moral principle of human nature, that notwithstanding this public and shameful abandonment of religion and virtue, the superstitious veneration and awe for the clergy continued to increase. That this was more remarkable in Europe than in Asia, has been admitted by historians and accounted for by moralists, from the influence which the religion of paganism exercised over the feelings of its votaries. Many of the nations of the West had then but recently been converted to Christianity, and they brought with them into the Christian Church that superstitious fear of the priests which was one of the marked characteristics of paganism, particularly of Druidism, which had been the prevailing religion of the greater portion of Europe. This feeling was easily and naturally transferred to the Christian clergy upon their conversion; and by their artifice and cunning cherished and perpetuated. The rites of the Christian Church were also calculated to excite their admiration and awe.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

Few controversies of a doctrinal nature disturbed the Christian world in this century. The subject of image worship engrossed the attention of both the Eastern, and Western church; and for a short time the question, whether the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father alone, or from the Father and the Son, was warmly and angrily discussed. But this at length resolved itself into another of a different import; and the discussion terminated by the Greeks alledging against the Latins, a sacrilegious attempt to impose their creed upon the Church, by a fraudulent interpolation of the decrees of the council of Constantinople. These are unfavorable evidences of the learning and the theological acumen of the age. The labors of the clergy were directed to the compilations of the literary works of the writers who lived in the first six centuries. Destitute themselves of originality of thought, they drew their knowledge from the ancient lore of the fathers of the Church; and with a blind veneration received their opinions as the dictates of inspiration.

The Scotch reformers, however, were an honorable exception. In this age of mental darkness they distinguished themselves by their literary productions; and by rejecting the authority of those early writers, advancing their own doctrines, and illustrating them by their genius and learning. Although there are evident traces of the system of what has been technically termed "scholastic divinity," in the sixth century, in the writings of those who combated the doctrines of Nestorius, Eutyches, and Pelagius; to these doctors of the Culdee Seminaries may be attributed its revival in this age. An evidence at least that the study of mental philosophy was pursued with success by them, when literature and the sciences had been every where else supplanted by monkish legends and the crude and fanciful conceits of the fathers.

These divines were particularly obnoxious to Boniface, the celebrated missionary of the gospel in Germany, for refusing to acknowledge the authority of the pope, and to conform with the rites and ordinances of the Romish church. In a council assembled at Rome, by Zachary, in the year 748, Clement, who was a native of Ireland and a worthy successor of Columba,¹ was condemned for contumacy and imprisoned.

Constantine Sylvanus, who revived in the middle of the last century the sect of the Paulicians, first disseminated his doctrines in the provinces of Pontus, on the Euxine or Black Sea, and of Cappadocia. His followers were distinguished by the zeal and the severe discipline introduced into their religious association. They increased in numbers and strength, and in a short time extended

¹The Irish or Hibernians were in this century generally known as the Scots. There were learned doctors, from the school established by Columba in the sixth century, in every part of Europe in this century.

over the greater part of Asia Minor, west of the Euphrates. Colonia, now known as Coulei-hisar or Chonac, was the place of his residence; and the churches which were successively planted by him, were distinguished by the names of those to whom the apostle Paul addressed his Epistles. "In a calamitous period of one hundred and fifty years," says Gibbon, "their patience sustained whatever zeal could inflict."

Their persecution which commenced with their revival in the last century, was renewed in this by Leo III. the Isaurian. This was conducted with unmitigated severity, with the intention of an utter annihilation. But neither the sword of the conqueror, nor the arguments and persuasion of the legates, could induce them to abandon their faith. They resolutely resisted every attempt either by force or conviction, to seduce them into a connection with either the Greek or Latin church. The death of Leo, and the succession of his son, Constantine V., surnamed Porphyrogenitus, a minor, suspended for a short time the efforts of the Eastern empire, to reduce them to submission.

This history of this sect occupies an interesting and an important portion of ecclesiastical history, for several succeeding centuries from this period; and will be resumed in its proper place.

The incursions of the Saracens were extended in this century over the greater part of Asia, in Africa along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, on the Island of Sicily, and approached the walls of Rome itself. The Normans on the coasts of the Baltic Sea, invaded Germany and Gaul, and continued their conquests into Italy. The Western empire, established by Charlemagne, was soon deprived of its weight in the political balance by the weakness and pusillanimity of his successors; but the partition of the empire by the reigning princes themselves, speedily affected its strength and finally occasioned its downfall. This great conqueror was crowned emperor of the West by pope Leo III., in the year 800. His dominions comprised all Germany, to the Baltic Sea and the mouth of the Vistula, all Gaul, and the northern parts of Spain to the river Ebro, Italy to Mount Vesuvius, and eastward, Pannonia, Slavonia, Bosnia and Dalmatia. Charlemagne was succeeded by his son, Louis I., Le Debonnaire. Louis divided his possessions among his sons; in consequence of which, dissensions and civil wars distracted the empire. These contentions not only weakened the empire, but enabled the Roman pontiffs to advance successfully their pretensions to supreme spiritual authority. The Eastern empire, although it preserved its sovereignty, was equally disturbed by contending factions and by foreign invasions. On its eastern borders, it was plundered by the Saracens; on the north and west, by the Abari and the Bulgarians. Such are the outlines of the political history of Europe and of Asia, in reference to its connection with the history of the Christian Church.

The temporal princes, whilst they were engaged in bloody contentions and forgetting the natural affections of relationship, showed a superstitious reverence for the clergy, and an humble submission to their spiritual authority. So far was this singular delusion carried, that even kings, dukes and counts, retired in seclusion to the monasteries, and devoted their lives to prayers and to penances. Ecclesiastics were the chief diplomatists in managing the affairs of state; and all measures of policy were referred to their adjudication and decision. Thus, as temporal princes became more devoted to spiritual concerns, the clergy directed their influence to control and govern in secular affairs. Hence it is that we see the extraordinary advance to power, which the Roman pontiffs from this period continually made. This indeed may be considered as the commencement of the era of popish supremacy. All the political events of the age conspired to secure to the head of the Church, his highest and most unbounded aspirations.

The sons of Louis Le Debonnaire, or the Meek, dissatisfied with the extent of the kingdoms which he had allotted to them, conspired against him at the instigation of pope Gregory IV. They dethroned him; and he became a prisoner in a monastery. Lotharius, his eldest son, having succeeded him in the empire, was not long after defeated by his brothers at the battle of Fontenai, and by a council of bishops under the authority of the pope, deposed from the throne, and excommunicated. But an arbiter must determine the conflicting claims of the conquerors; and the pontiff adjusted their respective rights, with a reservation of obedience to his decision. On the death of Lotharius, who had been restored to the sovereignty, Charles, surnamed the Bald, the youngest son of Louis, assumed the empire, after a severe and bloody conflict with his surviving brother; and secured the possession of the crown by rich donations and flattering promises to the reigning pontiff, John VIII. With his successor and nephew, Charles the Gross, the legitimate posterity of Charlemagne, expired. "After the reigns of these princes the empire was torn in pieces; the most deplorable tumults and commotions arose in Italy, France and Germany, which were governed, or rather subdued and usurped, by various chiefs; and in this confused scene of things, the highest bidder was, by the succor of the greedy pontiffs, generally raised to the government of Italy, and to the imperial throne."

Not only all temporal powers were thus gradually concentrating in the pope, but the spiritual rights of the inferior orders of the clergy, were also invested in the same head. The bishops in the end were deprived of their prerogatives, and were brought into an entire subordination to his will. The field of usurpations being thus suddenly expanded, every artifice was resorted to, to give to the pretensions of the pontiffs, an appearance of right, founded not only on the divine sanction, but on prescription, and the admission

of the ruling powers in preceding ages. Forged acts of councils, and fictitious records were published as ancient documents, by which the primacy of the see of Rome, was proved to have been undoubtedly established many centuries before. The decisions of a council, declared to have been held in the beginning of the fourth century, acknowledging the supremacy of the Roman bishop, were produced as undoubted evidences of the antiquity and justness of his claim; although no record could be found of any council having been convened at that time. It has always been admitted by the papists themselves, that the first ecumenical council assembled at Nice in the year 325; and was the only one that was convened in that century, until that of Constantinople in 381. In the records of neither of these councils is such an admission found. Forged canons were produced as the decrees of a council of which there were no traces in history. The "Decretal Epistles" were also the productions of this century; and imposed upon the world as the compilation of authentic documents made in the sixth century by Isidore, bishop of Seville. Decretal epistles are letters of the pontiffs determining questions in reference to the ecclesiastical law, and constitute a part of the code of the canon laws of the Church. That no such epistles have been found in the sacred archives of the Church, as existing previous to this time, or at least earlier than the eighth century, is now admitted by every candid papist; when such a phenomenon appears, to testify on the infallibility of the pope. These are a few only of the innumerable fabrications of the times. The deluded Christian world was prepared for the reception of any falsehood artfully contrived, and to acknowledge the pretensions of the pontiffs as founded on ancient usages or divine right; and political events invited the assertion of claims, however novel and unfounded they might be. Papal avarice and ambition seized the golden moment to advance and to maintain them; and most fatally for the cause of religious liberty and of spiritual religion, its objects were fearfully accomplished.

Charles, the Bald, having been elevated to the throne of the empire by the pope, John VIII., relinquished the right of suspending the ordination of the popes after their election, until the imperial sanction had been obtained.¹ From the year 884, the elections were conducted in Rome with a most shameful violation of order and decorum. The most dreadful commotions, riots, and contentions, accompanied every recurrence of a vacancy in the see, until the year 964, when Otho, the Great, degraded pope John XII., and appointed Leo VIII., having convicted John of crimes of a most flagrant character.

In this century a bitter controversy arose between the Eastern and Western churches, which produced a schism that was never

¹ Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, 9th century.

after healed ; and a final separation. The spirit of jealousy which had existed between them, from the period of the elevation of the patriarch of Constantinople in the year 381, to a rank second only to the Roman bishop, (for this preceded the assumption by the hierarch of the Western church of the title of pope, which was done by Siricius in the year 384,) and his higher elevation by the ecumenical council of Chalcedon, in the year 451, to an equality in honors, dignities, and prerogatives with the pontiff, was manifested through the successive centuries which intervened between those periods and the present century. It now exhibited itself with evidences of irreconcilable animosity. The ancient differences had been widened when Leo, the Isaurian, withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Roman see, the Churches in Sicily, Calabria, Apulia and Illyricum, and attached them to the patriarchate of Constantinople. This injury had not been forgotten by the heads of the Western church, and a favorable opportunity was now supposed to be offered of resenting it. Ignatius was degraded from the patriarchate in the year 858, by the emperor Michael III., and Photius elevated to the sacred office. A council convened at Constantinople in 861, confirmed and applauded the proceeding. Ignatius, however, appealed to the pope, Nicholas I., who in a council convened in Rome in 862, excommunicated Photius, and all who sustained him in his pretensions. The patriarch in another council of Constantinople in 866, declared Nicholas unworthy of his office and of holding communion with the Christian Church. In the mean time, however, Michael was assassinated by Basilus, who usurped the throne and recalled Ignatius to the office of patriarch. By his authority an ecumenical council assembled in Constantinople in 869, which sanctioned the act of the emperor, and excommunicated Photius. In this council, Adrian II., who had succeeded Nicholas, endeavored by his legates to recover his lost territories ; but his efforts were ineffectual. In the year 878, Ignatius died, and Photius, although excommunicated, was restored to his see, with the consent of the pontiff, John VIII., who had been promised by Photius, the restoration of his provinces and the extension of his jurisdiction over the province of Bulgaria. The wily pontiff was, however, deceived by the more cunning prelate ; and his stratagem to acquire his lost provinces was defeated by the duplicity of Photius. The enraged and disappointed pontiff, who had acknowledged him "his beloved brother in Christ," upon his restoration, now declared to the court of Constantinople, by his legate, "that he had changed his mind concerning Photius, and again approved of his former excommunication." Such were the arts of popery in its efforts to acquire wealth and power. But the dispute became still more acrimonious and irreconcilable, by his insisting upon the degradation from office of all the priests and bishops, who had been ordained by Photius.

As an evidence of the greater corruption of the clerical orders, in comparison with the moral sentiments of the more enlightened portion of the people in Europe, it is an indisputable fact that the Roman pontiffs forced upon them, by an ecclesiastical authority, the idolatry of image worship. In the East, the emperors generally opposed its introduction into the Churches; but were finally overpowered by the influence which the clergy exercised over the superstitious feelings of the populace. In the last century, it was successfully resisted by them, until the government fell into the hands of Irene, as queen regent, during the minority of her son Constantine V. During her regency, the council of Nice, under the influence of pope Adrian, seconded by her authority, passed the decrees which have already been mentioned, and which disgrace the name and character of the Christian Church. In this century, the throne opposed and the clergy defended it. Leo V., surnamed the Armenian, abolished the decrees of that council. But when the regency was intrusted to Theodora in 842, during the minority of her son Michael III., a council was convened at Constantinople, and those decrees were restored. At the ecumenical council held in the year 869, in which pope Adrian was represented by his legates, the worshippers of images obtained a triumphant ascendancy; and in commemoration of this great event, a festival was instituted by the Church, which is called the feast of Orthodoxy. Idolatry has from that period been permanently engrafted upon the Christian Church, and forms in our day an important part of public and private worship, and a pillar of popery.

The controversy on the procession of the Holy Ghost, was revived in the year 809. Charlemagne convened a council at Rome, in which the pope, Leo III., was present in person. The interpolation of the term "*filioque*," with which the Greeks had charged the Latins, seems to have been admitted without controversy. Leo, although he believed that the Holy Ghost proceeded from "the Father and the Son," erased the term from the creed. His successors sanctioned the erasure; but it was, notwithstanding, restored afterwards; and still continues in the symbol as an article of faith. Thus would those holy fathers have rejected from the form of public worship, a profession of faith which they admitted to be orthodox.

The nature of the elements (bread and wine) became a subject of animated discussion about the middle of this century; without any definitive settlement of the question. Tertullian, one of the fathers of the second century, says "Christ having taken bread, and distributed it to his disciples, made it his body, in saying, this is my body; that is to say, the figure of my body." Augustine, who wrote in the third and fourth centuries, says "The Lord hesitated not to say, this is my body; when he delivered only the sign of his body." Theodoret, bishop of Cyprus, who flourished in

the fifth century, says "The mystical symbols, after consecration, do not cease their proper nature; for they continue in their first substance, figure and form."¹ It is certain that the papal church had expressed nothing authoritatively on this intricate subject. When Radbert, abbot of Corbey, advanced the doctrine, that the material of the bread, after consecration, is the same body that was born of the Virgin, that suffered upon the cross, and was raised from the dead, the novelty and the boldness of the proposition excited the astonishment of the Christian world. Some of the most learned theologists of the day, entered the list of controversy, and the ambiguity in which they expressed their several opinions, evinced either a perplexity of mind on the subject, or a fear of advancing any decided opinion, upon so mysterious and intricate a question. Radbert himself is charged with being inconsistent and contradictory in his statements. Bertram, who opposed his doctrine, maintained, that "The bread represents the body of Christ and the body of believers—the wine alone, the former; and the water with which it is mixed, the latter. If therefore, they be really changed by consecration, into the body of one (or Christ,) they must necessarily be changed into the body of the other also (or the believers;) for the consecration is one sanctifying operation. In the water we see no such corporeal change, neither therefore can there be a corporeal change in the wine. As then we must take the water spiritually, so must we take the wine spiritually. So of the bread, which consists of many distinct and separate grains of wheat, but united into one body, as the believers being many are united into one body, which is Christ, if these several grains representing the believers, be not corporeally changed into the body of believers, neither can the bread, being but an aggregate of those grains, be corporeally changed into the body of Christ. Moreover, the body of Christ raised up to life, can be subject no more to dissolution, but we know that the consecrated bread is eaten and digested; therefore, it is impossible that two things so dissimilar, can be one and the same substance; and if they be not one and the same, how can any man say that this is the real body and real blood of Christ?"

The immense wealth which the sale of relics brought into the coffers of the clergy, stimulated the search after the bones of departed saints. Fasting and prayer, blessed by the direction of the Holy Spirit, were the certain means of discovering the depositories of these sacred remains. It was by the guidance of this Holy Spirit, that the bones of St. Mark, of St. Bartholomew, of St. James, and of many other saints of the apostolic times were discovered. These are still preserved in those parts of the world where popery can impose on the ignorance and bigotry of the peo-

¹Daille, on the right use of the Fathers.

ple; and exhibited to the deluded votaries of the "Beast who opens his mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven," as the veritable and undoubted bones of the apostles of Christ.

The increased veneration for the saints marks the corruption and ignorance of the age. The ingenuity and artifice of the priests and monks, the willing instruments of the pontiffs, provided for each province and city, for every family, for every superstitious devotee, a tutelary deity, who would carry up the prayers of the penitent to the throne of heaven, or protect him from the temptations and assaults of satan; who would take under their guardian care, his temporal affairs as well as his spiritual interests.

So glaring and shameful had the imposition of the priests and monks upon the credulity of the ignorant become, that the ecclesiastical councils were compelled to interpose and check the further progress of the evil. But the remedy they prescribed, was neither calculated nor intended to eradicate the disease. Before a saint could be commissioned to intercede at the throne of heaven in behalf of a devout penitent, and obtain for him the help and grace from God for securing the salvation of his soul, "a bishop in a provincial council, and in the presence of the people, must first have pronounced him worthy of that distinguished honor." From this arose, soon after, the ceremony of canonization. As the number of the saints swelled the sacred calendar, rites and ceremonies multiplied, and new festivals were instituted.

When it is stated that in this age, trials by cold water, by single combat, by the fire-ordeal, and by the cross, were the customary tribunals which determined the innocence of those accused of flagrant offenses; and that these barbarous institutions were solemnized by the celebration of the Lord's Supper and other religious rites; it will be unnecessary to add, that the clergy and the people together were approaching the lowest scale of depravity and vice.

The pontiffs themselves were not exempt from well founded accusations of crimes of the most savage and diabolical character. Gregory IV., encouraged the revolt of the princes against their father, Louis Le Debonnaire. Boson, having usurped the kingdom of Arrelat,¹ and brought over the pontiff to sustain him, John VIII., prohibited the princes whose provinces had been thus forcibly seized to molest Boson, under the penalty of a sentence of excommunication, informing them, that "he had adopted that illustrious prince as his son." Stephen VI., exhumed the dead body of Formosus, one of his predecessors, and after subjecting it to the form of a trial, caused the head, with the three fingers used in consecra-

¹The kingdom of Arrelat or Arles, comprehended Dauphine, Provence, Burgundy, Savoy, and the West of Switzerland, sometimes called the kingdom of Burgundy, except Savoy and the part of Switzerland, it is now a part of France.

tion, to be cut off, and the corpse to be thrown into the Tiber. Stephen was the following year imprisoned and strangled.¹

In this century, was that remarkable occurrence of a woman occupying the papal throne. She is said to have governed with great ability for three years; but the birth of a child revealed her sex, and she was compelled to resign her station. This extraordinary character has been recorded in history, as pope Joan.² The truth of this narration was never questioned by the papal writers themselves until the sixteenth century. The celebrated Spanheim, in the seventeenth century, collected all the historical evidences of this occurrence. There is no event of that period more strongly sustained. All the writers of the five succeeding centuries either affirmed it, or passed it over without an effort to invalidate the testimony in its favor. But when the light of reformation was kindled by Luther and other reformers in the sixteenth century, in Germany, Switzerland and France; and the iniquities of popery with all its false pretensions, were brought to the test of truth, its advocates were driven to all the expedients which fraud and ingenuity could devise to cover its deformities. It was then and not before, that authorities were produced, no doubt many of them elaborated in the manufacturing shop of the Vatican, which presented to the world the circumstances of this event under a new aspect; and the whole transaction has been veiled in mystery. It was at least a ludicrous interruption of that regular succession in the apostleship, which existed only in the imaginations of the bigoted advocates of popery, and which had been frequently before interrupted by violence and bloodshed.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

The Paulicians cherished an abhorrence of the worship of images; and were therefore the inveterate enemies of both the Eastern and Western churches. They differed from them in all their religious tenets; but in none was the line of distinction so clearly drawn as in this. In the middle of the last century, Constantine IV., surnamed Copronymus, who was equally uncompromising in his hostility to that idolatrous worship, transported from the cities of Melitene and Theodosiopolis, in the province of Armenia, a great number of the Paulicians to Constantinople, and to the banks of the river Hebrus, in Thrace. About the year 750, the intro-

¹From the year 795 to the year 900, there were twenty-two occupants of the chair of St. Peter, from the accession of Leo III. to the death of John IX. Leo III. reigned 21 years of that time, and Gregory IV., 17 years. Within the period of 67 years there were twenty pontiffs, including Joan. Such are the vicissitudes of human grandeur. For this brief enjoyment of power and vain glory, what imagination can conceive of the intrigues, the violence, and the assassinations which were committed?

²Papissa Joanna. "Her female statue had its place among the popes in the Cathedral of Sienna." Gibbon.

duction of this sect into Europe may be dated; and through this channel their doctrines were doubtless, at an early period, although imperceptibly, translated to Italy, France, and the western kingdoms of Europe. Their settlement, extending from the Hebrus to the Danube, along the shores of the Euxine, presented a barrier to the encroachment of the barbarians of Scythia upon the capital of the Eastern empire. This was doubtless, the object of their transportation.

At the close of the last century, the Paulicians in the eastern provinces of Asia-Minor, enjoyed a temporary repose. In the commencement of this, their religious liberties were secured to them by legal exactments, under the reign of Nicephorus Logothetes. But on the accession of the emperor Michael I., Curopalates, to the throne, the fire of persecution was again kindled. His successor, Leo, the Armenian, pursued them with equal inveteracy; and they were compelled either to abjure their religion, or to abandon their country. Capital punishment was inflicted upon all without mercy, who refused to recant their doctrines, and to unite themselves to the Greek church. Driven to desperation by their sufferings, they retaliated on their persecutors, by the murder of the bishop of New Cæsarea and the governor of the city; and either retired into the recesses of Mount Argæus, in Cappadocia, or obtained a protection by an alliance with the Saracens. In the reign of Theophilus, from the year 829, they were not molested in the exercise of their religion, and returned to their native provinces. But when the regency was placed in the hands of Theodora, a relentless persecution was commenced; and they were pursued and destroyed by fire and the sword. Their property was seized and confiscated, and cruel tortures were inflicted upon them. About one hundred thousand are supposed to have been put to death, under circumstances of most horrid barbarity. They were Iconoclasts, and Theodora was a devout worshipper of images. They were opposed to the government and superstitious rites of the Romish church; and Adrian, the reigning pope, was at the time in friendly alliance with the queen regent. Their destruction, therefore, was equally subservient to the wishes and the interests of the Eastern and Western churches. The only alternative left to them, was either to perish, or to leave the empire. Those who escaped the sword of their destroyers, fled to the caliph, and enlisted under the banners of the Mussulmans. They were permitted to entrench themselves within the walls of Tibrice; and under their leader, Carbeas, they declared an exterminating war against their persecutors. With various success on both sides, it was conducted for more than thirty years with unrelenting fury, and with a spirit of extermination. Michael, the son of Theodora, having taken the reins of government, marched with an army into Syria; and under the walls of Samosata, at the foot of Mount Taurus, he was sig-

nally defeated, and driven back with ignominy to his capitol. Chrysocheir, who succeeded to the command of the Paulicians, extended his conquests into Asia-Minor; seized and pillaged the cities of Nice, Nicomedia, Ancyra, and Ephesus; and rejecting the proffers of gold made to him by the emperor Basilius, as a donative of peace, threatened to drive him out of his kingdom by his victorious army. Basilius, driven to the alternative of victory, or the abdication of his throne, with the forces of the empire entered the territories of the Paulicians. Chrysocheir was vanquished and killed, and his army dispersed. The strong fortress of Tibricea was captured and demolished. But the Paulicians were not extirpated.—Although defeated and dispersed, they retreated to the mountains; maintained their religion; and for more than a century after, defended with unbroken spirit, their religious rights, against the forces of the empire and the enemies of the gospel.¹ Many of them are supposed to have removed into Europe, and united with the colony which had been planted in the middle of the last century, on the western coasts of the Euxine, or Black Sea. The people who inhabited this region of country, extending from the Euxine to Servia, and from the Danube to the Sardinian Mountains, were known as Bulgarians. With these the future history of the European Paulicians is blended; and will be pursued in the narration of the events of the succeeding centuries.

The idolatrous worship of images had not corrupted the whole clergy in Italy. The capital of Piedmont furnishes in this century, examples of true piety and of spiritual religion. This region which was destined, under divine Providence, to cast a luster on the benighted Church of Christ throughout the twelfth, the thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, produced in this age, a faithful servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, who would not bow the knee to the image of Baal.

Louis Le Debonnaire, or the Meek, whose sons had been excited to a rebellion against him by Pope Gregory IV., perceiving the utter depravity of morals which pervaded the Christian Church, and desirous of checking the spirit of idolatrous worship which was fast corrupting the principles of vital religion, appointed Claudius the bishop of Turin, in the year 817. This eminent prelate commenced his episcopal duties in 823, by opposing the superstitious observances of the Romish church. His first measure of reform, was the ejection of all the images and crosses from the churches, and committing them to the flames. In the following year, he prohibited the introduction of relics, and firmly opposed the veneration paid to them; treating them with contempt. He openly censured those who undertook pilgrimages to Palestine, as acts of religious devotion. He wrote commentaries on several books of the Old and of the New Testament, which are now ex-

¹ Gibbon's Roman Empire.

tant. His labors were continued for more than twenty years; and were signally blessed by the Holy Spirit of God. The seeds sown by that pious minister of the gospel at the foot of the Piedmont, took root in the valleys, and were transplanted to the mountains, where for many centuries, they bore abundantly, the precious fruits of divine grace. The monks reviled and threatened; but God sustained him, and prospered his work.

CHAPTER VII.

WITH this century, commenced that era in the history of the world which has been denominated "*the Dark Age*;" and the century itself, has been called "The iron age of the Latins." There were no writers of eminence; and the pursuits of literature were almost entirely abandoned. In the East, the emperor Constantine VI., made some ineffectual efforts to revive the spirit of mental investigation, and the cultivation of the sciences; and presented to the world, the productions of his own mind. His treatises on political government, and on military *stratageme*, are works entitled to praise, as verdant spots in a vast desert. In Egypt, the Arabians prosecuted with ardor, and not without success, physical and mathematical investigations; and their researches in chemistry and astronomical science are the only evidences in our day, of a positive advancement in knowledge. In the West there was scarcely a ray of light; all was mental darkness, moral corruption, and spiritual blindness. Rome, once the seat of the muses, was then the habitation of popish dragons, and the den of monkish owls. The curse of Babylon brooded over "the glory of kingdoms;" for "their houses were full of doleful creatures; the owls dwelt there, and the satyrs danced there, and the dragons were in their pleasant palaces."

In pursuing the history of the Church through this century, we traverse a dreary wilderness. For the honor of humanity and the sacredness of our holy religion, it might be wished that its records were effaced from the pages of ecclesiastical history. The profligacy and vice of all orders of the clergy, appear to have attained a point, beyond which they could not go without a total subversion of the system. The history of the successors to the papal throne, is but a continued narration of debaucheries; of vice in all its forms; of ambitious struggles for the pontificate carried on by violence and intrigue, and terminated either by bribery or by assassination. "The Vatican and the Lateran were stained with blood.

The pontiffs were insulted, imprisoned and murdered." Within the period of one hundred years, no less than twenty-nine occupants of the throne, stained the catalogue of the successors of St. Peter.

A hasty sketch of the successions which occurred in the course of this century, will demonstrate of itself, the fallacy of the pretensions which have been advanced by the ultra advocates of episcopacy, to a continued and unbroken chain in the apostolic succession, throughout the several ages of the Christian Church, to the present time. It has been assumed as an historical truth, that "the catalogue has been carefully and providentially preserved from the beginning." This has reference to the array of names recorded in the archives of the Rómish church, of bishops who have occupied the apostolic chair from the martyrdom of Peter. "The founders of the established church of England, it is said, were bishops ordained by other bishops, precisely as is the case at the present time. The bishops who ordained them, had been ordained by other bishops; and so back to the apostles, who ordained the first bishops, being themselves ordained by Christ."¹ The bishops whose successive ordinations have been thus traced back to the great Head of the Church, would have been better distinguished by their appropriate title. They are better known in ecclesiastical history, as the popes of Rome. Through these prelates of the Church, has this sacred ministerial office been transmitted; from age to age, and amid the destruction of kingdoms, and the revolution of empires, and the inundations of Goths and Vandals, sweeping in successive waves over the states of Europe; through all the political convulsions of eighteen hundred years; and transmitted to the present time, with all its features of original purity, by a succession unbroken, and with a title indisputable. This is the ground which prelacy assumes, and upon this it claims an exclusive right to preach the *Word*, and administer the ordinances of the Church of Christ. A very singular assumption!

In the beginning of this century, the bishop who stood in the regular line of ordination, known in ecclesiastical history as the pope, was Sergius III. In the year 904, by the assistance of Adalbert, a Tusean prince, who controlled the city of Rome, he expelled from the papal throne his predecessor, Christopher, who the year before, had dethroned Leo V. within forty days after his accession.

By the persuasion of Theodora, (the paramour of the arch-bishop of Ravenna,) whose daughter, the celebrated profligate Marozia, Adalbert had married, that prince elevated to the papal throne the arch-bishop, who is known in the catalogue of Romish bishops, as John X. John is distinguished in the annals of history, more for his military achievements and debaucheries, than for humble

¹Sermon by Bishop Hook, Chaplain in Ordinary to her Majesty.

piety, as the successor of St. Peter. After the death of Adalbert, Marozia became the wife of Wido, Marquis of Tuscany; and by her influence, John, the lover of her mother, was deposed, imprisoned and strangled. In the year 931, the throne becoming vacant by the death of Stephen VII., Marozia installed as his successor, her son, the fruit of her licentious intercourse with Pope Sergius III. He assumed the title of John XI. But in 938, he was dethroned and imprisoned by Alberic, the legitimate son of Marozia and Adalbert, where he died three years after. In 956, Alberic, who still exercised the authority which his father possessed, elevated to the pontificate, his son Octavian, a youth already notorious for his vicious indulgences in pleasure, and remarkable for the beauty of his person. During his administration, the papal court was disgraced by scenes of the most wicked and abominable debaucheries. "John XII., the grand-son of Marozia, renounced," says the historian, Gibbon, "the dress and the decencies of his profession, the soldier may not perhaps, be dishonored by the wine which he drank, the blood that he spilt, the flames that he kindled, or the licentious pursuits of gaming and hunting." This holy father "lived in public adultery with the matrons of Rome. The Lateran palace was turned into a school of prostitution,"¹ &c. &c. "The bastard son, the grand-son, and the great-grand-son of Marozia," says Gibbon, "were seated in the chair of St. Peter," and her lover Sergius. To which may be added the lover of her mother, Theodora, (John X.) a woman as lewd and as abandoned as her daughter.

But John, impatient under the restraints imposed upon him by Berenger II., king of Italy, invited Otho the Great, in the year 960 to relieve with his army, the oppressions of the Church; with a promise to crown, and to proclaim him emperor of the Romans. Otho readily embraced the offer, and was crowned by John, "who swore allegiance to him as his lawful sovereign." This obligation of fealty however, was forgotten by the pontiff. Otho returned to Rome in 964, degraded him from office, and appointed Leo VIII. as his successor. John, in the absence of the emperor returned to Rome, and forcibly ejected Leo from the throne. After his death, the Romans elected Benedict V., but Otho nullified the election, reinstated Leo, and banished Benedict to Hamburg.

In the year 965, John XIII. was appointed by the emperor against the wishes of the Romans. He was soon after expelled from the city, but restored by Otho, and enjoyed the possession of the throne during his life. Benedict VI. was elected his successor. But Cres-

¹ "Lateranense palatium . . . prostibulum meretricium . . . Testis omnium gentium, præterquam Romanorum, absentia mulierum, quæ sanctorum apostolorum limina orandi gratia timent visere, cum nonnullas ante dies paucos, hunc audierint conjugatas viduas, virgines vi oppressisse." Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

centius, the son of the notorious Theodora, deposed, imprisoned, and strangled him.

As disordered as were the affairs of the state and Church, the death of Otho the Great, in the year 973, removed all restraints upon the licentiousness and seditious spirit which prevailed among all classes of the community. The utmost disorder was introduced; and intrigue, violence, and assassinations, determined in almost every instance, the right of succession. Boniface VII. was elected to fill the vacancy occasioned by the deposition of Benedict. Before one month expired, he was driven out of the city by violence, and Donus II. seized the vacant chair. In the year 983, John XIV. was elevated by the authority of Otho III., who had recently assumed the reins of the imperial government. Boniface VII. returned from his exile in Constantinople, in the following year, and having forcibly recovered his seat, imprisoned and strangled him. After his death there was another occupant, who seems to have acquired the possession by stealth. He was never consecrated to the office, and held it about four months. He is known only by name, and appears not to have been duly registered in the sacred catalogue. His title however, was John XV., and he was either the pope for the time, which the papal writers disallow or there was an interregnum for the time, and a clear interval of four months in the apostolic succession.

His successor, Gregory V., was elected by the authority of the emperor; but Crescens, the Roman consul, expelled him from the city, and supplied the vacancy by the elevation of Philagathus, who assumed the title of John XVI. Otho, however, soon after entered Rome at the head of a powerful army. John was seized, and treated with many personal indignities by the soldiery, and imprisoned. Gregory was again seated in the pontifical chair. After his death, in the year 999, Otho appointed Gerbert, a man distinguished for his learning, who, as Sylvester II., occupied the chair until the year 1003.

Thus have been hastily sketched the successions to the chair of St. Peter, which occurred in the tenth century. In which, it must have been observed, there was little of the character of a regular accession of "bishops ordained by other bishops," as must have been instituted by the apostles. In this catalogue, thus "carefully and providentially preserved," not less than twelve of these apostolic successors were deposed by violence; four of them were assassinated; three of them were the illegitimate offsprings of the dissolute and abandoned Marozia; and two of them were licentious lovers, one of Theodora, who has been styled, by infamous distinction, "the Mistress of Rome;" and the other of her daughter, the no less prostitute Marozia. Through this corrupt channel has been transmitted to us, the only divine right to preach the gospel

of salvation, and to administer the sacred ordinances in the Church of Christ!

A remarkable feature in the transactions which have been related, is the exercise of a right of nomination by the Germanic emperors. Otho the Great adjusted the confusion and disorders which accompanied the elections of pontiffs, by prohibiting any proceedings in the matter without his sanction. "The senate and the people engaged to prefer the candidate most acceptable to him;" or as it was expressed, "*Firmiter jurantes, nunquam se Papam electuros, aut ordinaturos, præter consensum et electionem Othonis et filii sui.*" This concession was observed, or rather enforced, throughout this century.

Notwithstanding the disorders which prevailed in Rome, and the reproach which was unavoidably attached to the Church, the advancement of the diocesan bishops to opulence and power was not impeded. The contests which were carried on between the princes and nobles of the empire afforded them, through the superstitious reverence in which they were held, frequent opportunities of enlarging their powers and dignities, and of adding to their wealth, by concessions obtained from the contending parties. Their temporal interests were secured by new acquisitions; and from this period may be dated the titles of civil distinctions, which afterward became so generally attached to bishops; such as dukes, marquises, counts and viscounts. The bishops received their appointments from the princes; and this high dignity was generally conferred upon those whose wealth enabled them to advance the largest sums; nor was it unfrequent for those in their minority to be elevated to this ecclesiastical order. "A child of five years old was made arch-bishop of Rheims. The see of Narbonne was purchased for another at the age of ten."

Concubinage and Simony were the prevailing vices of the age, Matrimony was prohibited to the clergy in the Western church, much earlier than the Eastern. The ecumenical council of 692, known as the council in Trullo, permitted those in clerical orders to marry. It will be recollected that the canon on this subject was one rejected by the Romish church. This prohibition by the Western church, was however, more in form than in reality. The indulgence extended to the clergy, of permitting them to co-habit with women, not as wives, but in the character of concubines, was more demoralizing than a rigid enforcement of the rule would have been. In some of the papal states of Europe, legal provisions were made for the offsprings of this illicit intercourse, by vesting in them the right of inheritance. This loose restraint on the privilege of wedlock, was in this century wholly disregarded; and even the monks entered into the bonds of matrimony, much to their honor. Upon their wives or their concubines, they lavished their wealth with unbounded extravagance; and lived in a style of prince-

ly grandeur. Nor was it before the middle of the eleventh century, that Leo IX. attempted to enforce with rigor, the ecclesiastical laws enjoining celibacy on the clergy. But entire success has never accompanied their efforts; as the custom was introduced, and is still characteristic of the popish clergy, of keeping females in their houses, (*Mulieres subintroductas* of the third century,) under the pretence of relationship or domestic servitude; but who are in reality their concubines.

Trafficking in ecclesiastical preferments was another of the prominent vices of the age. The corrupt purchases of spiritual benefices, made the advancement in church dignities no longer the result of merit, but a procurement effected by fraud and bribery. Even the pontificate itself, became the object of this corrupt traffick, as will be seen hereafter.

A Sicilian hermit received a revelation from heaven, that the prayers of the monks of Clugni, would release from the prisons of purgatory, the souls confined there for the expiation of their sins. This proved a source of great wealth to the order of the Benedictine monks, who had been recently subjected to new rules of discipline, introduced by Odo, abbot of Clugni. A yearly festival was instituted by them, by which the court of Oyer and Terminer, and general gaol delivery in purgatory, released at once the imprisoned souls, and delivered over to them, free passports to the celestial regions. This spirit of universal benevolence was soon extended throughout the churches; as whilst it was confined to the monks of Clugni, they were the only recipients of the profits. Accordingly, towards the conclusion of this century, a festival was formally established by the authority of the pontiff, and inserted in the Latin calendar, to be annually celebrated by all the churches.

The institution of "the rosary and crown of the virgin," although attributed to the thirteenth century, seems to have been introduced at this time. The superstitious worship heretofore paid to her, was improved by additional rites and ceremonies.

From the character of the age, it will be naturally and correctly supposed that vice and immorality pervaded all classes of society; and that the Church had a name that it lived, but was dead.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

The Paulicians, who have heretofore occupied a conspicuous page in the history of the religious persecutions in the provinces of Asia-Minor, from this period began to attract the attention of the European states. About the year 970, the emperor, John Zimiscees, from the solicitations of Theodore, bishop of Antioch, removed from the province of Armenia, a numerous colony of these sectaries into Thrace. "Their exile in a distant land," says Gibbon, "was softened by a free toleration." These were settled in the valleys of Mount Hæmus, bordering on the provinces of Bos-

nia, Servia, and Bulgaria. They not long after occupied the city of Philippopolis, and extended into the provinces of Macedonia and of Epirus. In the next century we shall trace their progress still further westward, into the states of Europe. What part they took, if any in the wars of the Bulgarians and the emperors of Constantinople, is uncertain. The Bulgarians were in association with them; and as it is said, that "their privileges were often violated by the faithless bigotry of the government and the clergy," we may naturally suppose that they participated in the sufferings and the brave resistance of that warlike people. In the year 1019, Bulgaria was conquered by Basilus III., and annexed to the empire. About this time, probably, detached colonies of them emigrated westward.

The Paulicians, in their ecclesiastical government, had neither councils nor synods. "Their doctors were called *Sunecdemi*, that is, companions in the journey of life; and also *Notarii*." They acknowledged however, no distinctions of rank among their preachers; and the only remarkable circumstance attending the elevation of one of them to the clerical office, was his assumption of a Scripture name. Their copies of the gospel were like those used by other Christians in every respect, without the alterations, by erasures or interpolations, which the Manichæans had inserted in their copies. Which determines conclusively that they were not identified with that sect. They enjoined upon all a constant and attentive perusal of the Scriptures. A Paulician woman inquired of a young man, if he read the Gospels, his reply was, "It is not lawful for the people, (*nobis profanis*,) but for the priests only, to read the Sacred Scriptures."

The most memorable event recorded in modern history, occurred in the close of this century; the expedition against the Saracens, who occupied by right of conquest, the Holy Land. This is known as the crusade. The religious zeal which animated all Europe, with the wildness of insanity, was aroused by Peter the Hermit. When the feelings of the populace had been brought to a proper state of excitement, or more properly of frenzy, Pope Urban II., convened a council at Placentia. Two hundred bishops, four thousand ecclesiastics, and three hundred thousand laymen assembled. As nothing decisive could be done by so numerous and promiscuous an assemblage, another council met soon after at Clermont, at which the pope was present in person. These occurrences took place in the year 1095. In the following year 800,000 persons commenced their journey to Palestine. It was neither an army; for it consisted of boys, girls, slaves, malefactors, monks and their necessary concomitants, prostitutes and profligate debauchees; nor was it a march, for they were dispersed over the countries through which they passed, pillaging and committing acts of violence upon the persons and property of the inhabitants. There was, however,

a well disciplined and chivalrous army, under the command of Godfrey of Bouillon, and his brother Baldwin. The former was the representative of the Church, and was under the fatherly guidance of Peter the Hermit. But it is not my design to narrate the events of this expedition; and I allude to it only so far as its consequences affected the affairs of the Church.

It has been supposed by writers, who have traced the results back to all the circumstances connected with its inception and progress; and by a comparison of these with the systematic policy which has ever actuated the Roman pontiffs, that the aggrandizement of the papal see was the principle, which governed Urban in sanctioning and urging on, the adventure; and his successors in sustaining the subsequent attempt to accomplish the visionary scheme of expelling the infidels from the Holy Land. Certain it is, that the results increased the wealth of the clergy, and extended the prerogatives of the popes. This fact clearly ascertained, with a knowledge of the characteristic cunning, ambition and avarice of those spiritual potentates; the conclusion seems to be obvious, that aggrandizement of wealth and power, was the actuating principle which dictated and governed them at every step, in urging the prosecution of this fanatical and disastrous warfare.

The government of the Germanic empire, under the house of Saxony, which commenced with Henry I., surnamed the Fowler, in the year 918, and terminated with Henry II., his great-grand-son in 1024, was absolute; and the pontiffs, as we have seen in the history of the preceding century, felt and acknowledged its power. From this latter period, it was transferred to the house of Franconia; and although the princes of this family were neither wanting in talents nor energy of character, the strength of the government gradually declined. Under the Suabian dynasty, which assumed the reins in the year 1138, in the person of Conrad III., it was continually embarrassed by the intriguing policy of the popes, and was finally prostrated. The accession of Conrad to the throne, in prejudice to the claims of Henry, surnamed the Proud, of the house of Bavaria, gave rise to the two parties known as the Guelphs and the Ghibelins. The former sustaining the claims of Henry, and the latter those of Conrad. The one, properly representing the Saxon line; the other, the families of Franconia and Suabia. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, these names distinguished the parties in Italy which arose in a controversy with the popes. The Guelphs sustained their cause; and the Ghibelins opposed it. The war carried on between the parties is known in history as "the Sacerdotal war."

In France, the death of Louis V., in the year 987, terminated the Carolingian race of kings, and the succession devolved on Hugh Capet by an election, through his vassals and some noblemen of the kingdom. A civil war ensued in consequence of the right-

ful claim of Charles, duke of Lorraine and the uncle of Louis, to the throne, as the last male of the reigning family. About this time a new tenure was established in France, called the Fief. Life estates were made hereditary; and the titles of nobility may be said to have been first introduced. The possession of lands conferred the title. This change in the ancient feudal tenure took place in the close of the Carlovingian dynasty, by the increased power of the governors of the provinces, and the imbecility of the reigning monarchs. The reign of the Capetian family commenced in 987. In the year 998, Pope Gregory V. annulled the marriage of Robert, who had succeeded his father Hugh Capet, and having excommunicated him, placed his kingdom under an interdict. Normandy, Dauphine and Province, were no longer embraced within the limits of the kingdom; and its power had evidently declined under the government of Charlemagne's posterity.

William the Conqueror, having invaded England, obtained a decided victory at the battle of Hastings, and ascended the throne in the year 1066, and from this period the connection of the history of that country with that of the papal church, assumes a higher degree of importance than heretofore. Hallam has remarked, that "England has been obsequious beyond most other countries, to the arrogance of her hierarchy; especially during the Anglo-Saxon period, when the nation was sunk in ignorance and effeminate superstition." The bold reply of William to Gregory VII., when he was summoned to do homage to the pope, for the kingdom of England, as a fief of the apostolic see, evinced a spirit of independence which his predecessors had not dared to exhibit, "To do fealty I have not willed, nor will I." (*Fidelitatem facere, nolui, nec volo.*)

In the year 1016, the Normans, under the command of Raynulf, assisted the Lombards in expelling the Saracens from Italy. They founded the city of Aversa, of which Raynulf was appointed count. They were afterward employed by the Greeks to drive the same infidel intruders from the island of Sicily. At this period the southern provinces of Italy, were subject to the Greek empire. The Normans, deceived by the emperor of Constantinople, in the promised remuneration for their services, invaded Apulia, a Greek province, which they subdued, and divided the territory among the twelve counts who accompanied the expedition. This was in the year 1042. In 1057, Robert, surnamed Guiscard, having acquired the sovereignty, united Calabria to his dukedom; and in 1071 he dispossessed the Greeks of all their Italian provinces, and in the following year expelled the Saracens from the island of Sicily, who still retained a part of it. In 1130 the reigning count assumed the title of king. In 1194, Henry VI., emperor of Germany, dispossessed William, who was descended from an illegitimate branch of the Norman line, and seized the kingdom by right of his wife, Constantia, who was the legitimate heiress of the throne of Sicily.

Robert, who succeeded his father, Hugh Capet, in the year 996, married his cousin, the heiress of Burgundy. Gregory V. annulled the marriage contract; excommunicated Robert, and laid his kingdom under an interdict. No fact in history, so remarkably exhibits the audacity of the Roman pontiff, as this act of Gregory. He had been expelled from the city of Rome two years before this, by Crescens, a Roman consul, and another pontiff, John XVI., elevated to the papal throne. In 998, the German emperor restored him to his seat, and with this positive evidence of his weakness, he immediately issued a sentence of excommunication against one of the most powerful princes in Europe; laid his kingdom under an interdict, and virtually dethroned him. The extreme measure of an excommunication of a crowned prince, had seldom been attempted before this period. That of Lothaire by Adrian II., was probably the first. The same pope threatened a similar sentence against his brother, Charles the Bald, who had seized the duchy of Lorraine, which appertained to his nephew, Louis II. But Charles disregarded his threats, and Adrian failed in his purpose. Interdicts were still of a later date, as few instances occurred of their being published before Gregory VII., towards the close of the eleventh century. The boldness of Gregory V. in fulminating against Robert both sentences at once, when he was unable to retain his own seat without the sustaining arm of the emperor, is an evidence of his confidence in the superstitious reverence of the people, and their implicit obedience to the voice of the Church.

The right of expulsion is inherent in every voluntary association, whether of a religious or political character. The primitive apostolic church exercised this right. It is expressly declared in Scripture, as a rule by which the Church may preserve its purity, that a man who is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, shall be rejected. The power given by Christ himself, to all of the apostles, of binding or loosing, and thence derived, is the unquestionable authority for the exercise of this right by his Church, through all time. And the Church which has claimed Him as its great Head and Founder, has acted upon this commission through successive ages to the present time.

It must have been observed, however, that the penalties of a sentence of excommunication, were increased in severity as the Church acquired additional strength. The term heresy, itself, has embraced a wider field of offenses, as this power was magnified; and innumerable offenses, and indeed such acts as cannot be strictly viewed in the light of offenses, were stigmatized as heresies, which could not have been within the contemplation of the Scriptural rule when instituted. The term heresy is declared to be an offense worthy of the dreadful expulsion from a communion with the people of God. But what was heresy? Originally it meant nothing more than a sect (*Airesis*,) and expresses also, the choice which a person may make of a sect, or mode of doctrine; without attaching to the

choice or to the doctrine either censure or criminality. The Apostle Paul says, "After the most straitest sect (or heresy) of our religion, I lived a Pharisee." Christianity was called heresy, and the orator Tertullus, in his accusation of Paul before Felix, charges him with being a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes. Paul in his defense, replies by confessing, that after the way which they (the Jews,) call heresy, so worshipped he the God of his fathers. The Jews may have used the term as one of reproach, but Paul did not. This apostle however, in his Epistle to the Galatians, includes "heresies" in his enumeration of the works of the flesh. And it may be observed, that in this enumeration many other offenses are included, some of which would now be deemed heresy by a pure and orthodox church, such as the worshipping of idols, the superstitious practices in witchcraft, creating seditions, &c. If then, agreeably to what seems in Scripture, to be the import of the term, we define it, as implying nothing more than a fundamental error in Christian doctrine, or a departure from the truths clearly laid down in the Word of God; it will be evident that the papal church has indulged in an unwarrantable latitude in its exercise of the right of expelling its members from its communion.

As to the extent of this excommunication, by the primitive churches, or the consequences of the sentence; it was intended as an excision of membership, and nothing more. The ejected delinquent returned to his former associations in the world, and the Church took no further cognizance of his conduct; nor did it interfere afterward with his public or private relations. He was absolved from all connection with it; and was left free to engage in his worldly pursuits. But the papal church does not withhold its inflictions at this point. Wherever and whenever it has had the power, the excommunicated member has been pursued with a wrath unappeasable; and with a vindictiveness of spirit that arrests not the persecution of its anathematized victim, until the rack, the gibbet, or the fire, has left the body a lifeless and corrupted mass; and as the last act of demoniacal exasperation, it consigns the soul to the eternal torments of the damned in hell, and casts the body upon the highway to be devoured by dogs and vultures.

The king of France incurred the spiritual censures of the Church for having married a cousin. A sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him from the throne of the Vatican. As a man infected with the leprosy, he was shunned by his own household. Two domestics who were permitted to present to him, his daily food, threw into the fire whatever was left upon his table, believing them to have been polluted by his touch. The consequences of an excommunication, were an exclusion from all social intercourse; a bier would be placed before his door; his person was avoided; stones would be thrown at his dwelling; and when he died his body was denied the rite of burial. Those who might

have dared to associate with him, were visited with the penalty of a "lesser excommunication;" exclusion from church privileges, and rigid penance.¹

But severe as this sentence was, Gregory pursued his object with still greater severities. The kingdom of France was placed under an interdict. "The churches were closed; the bells were silent; the dead were unburied; no rites but those of baptism and extreme unction were performed." The whole nation was under a sentence of excommunication; and the gloom and the silence of death pervaded every dwelling, and every domestic hearth. Where was that paralyzing power that by a word, had thus prostrated one of the most powerful princes in Europe? On the papal throne in Rome; which the puny arm of a consul of the city could have shaken, and hurled its occupant to the ground.

The presumptuous and daring pontiff, with scarcely the force of a life-guard to protect his person from insult, reduced the king of France to an humble submission to his imperious demands, and obliged him to violate his marriage contract, and marry a princess more acceptable to his ghostly father. Such was the irresistible control which the Church had obtained over the popular feeling.

Gregory succeeded in this first essay which was made, of exercising this great spiritual prerogative. It was a stupendous machine, which no daring hand had touched. But now that it was moved, and its power had been irresistible, the Christian world beheld it with amazement; and the proudest monarchs were made to tremble under its operation. With it, Gregory VII. compelled the emperor of Germany to cross the Alps, and barefooted and alone, to supplicate his forgiveness at the gates of his palace; and by it, Innocent III. reduced a king of England to an abject and slavish submission to his terms. The last attempt to exercise this prerogative was in the year 1809, when Pope Pius VII. hurled his anathemas against Napoleon. But the reign of bigotry and superstition had expired. The age had passed when those spiritual weapons could be wielded with effect. Europe was engaged in a conflict of physical powers, directed and controlled by the energies of mind; and Pius received from his proud conqueror, the humiliating, but wholesome lesson, that the Kingdom of Christ was not of this world.

Gregory V. was indebted to the emperor Otho III., for his elevation to the papal chair; and retained it alone by his influence. His successors were entirely dependent upon the power of the empire, for the confirmation of their election, and indeed, for their retention of the office. The first instance of a deviation from the rule which had been uniformly observed from the time of Otho the Great, of referring to the emperor for a sanction of the choice of a candidate, occurred in the year 1661, when Alexander II. was

¹Hallam's Middle Ages.

elected and consecrated, without any application having been made to the emperor for his assent. The reason probably was, that Henry IV. was still in his minority; and disorders prevailed in the imperial court on the subject of the regency. His successor, Gregory VII., who was elected, deferred his consecration until he had received the approval of Henry.

This haughty and ambitious prelate, who is perhaps better known by the name of Hildebrand, was engaged in a controversy with Henry, soon after his elevation to the pontificate, on the subject of investitures. This was continued by his successors, and was concluded in the following or twelfth century, by a compromise between Calixtus II. and the emperor Henry V., in a general diet at Worms, in the year 1122. It may be here stated, that the popes were still elected by the citizens, the laity as well as the clergy giving their votes. It may easily be conjectured by whom, in the choice of a candidate, the election was really made. From the reign of Charles the Bald, to that of Otho the Great, or for the period of seventy years, the greatest confusion, discord and civil wars, prevailed in the city at the recurrence of every vacancy. Bribery and bloodshed generally determined the issue. Even under the control of the Saxon princes who ruled the empire, we have seen, in the history of the last century, that violence and anarchy universally prevailed. In pursuing the progress of events through this century, we shall find the successions to the apostolic chair, determined by the same principles of misrule. In the year 1047, there was an expressed concession of the right of nomination made to Henry III., which he exercised manifestly for the benefit of the Church. Some radical changes in the mode of election were made in this century, which will be noticed.

In the year 1012, there were two competitors for the papal throne, Benedict and Gregory. The former was elected, but was soon after expelled from Rome. By the interference of the emperor, Henry II., he was restored, and Gregory banished. It was at this time, that the Normans were engaged in those celebrated wars which terminated in the expulsion, first of the Saracens and then of the Greeks, from Italy and Sicily.

Benedict IX. was raised to the chair of St. Peter in the year 1033. Some writers affirm that he was at the time but twelve years of age; this however is improbable. It is admitted that he was but a youth; but like one of his predecessors, John XII., though young in years, he was matured in crimes of the most atrocious character. So intolerable were his vices that the Roman citizens expelled him from the city. He was forcibly reinstated by the emperor Conrad, and was again in 1044, driven out of Rome; and Sylvester was elected to fill the vacant chair. About three months after, Benedict returned, deposed Sylvester, and re-assumed the reins of government. Apprehensive, however, of the indigna-

tion of the populace, he sold his right to an arch-presbyter of Rome, who took possession of St. Peter's chair by virtue of his purchase, and rejoiced in the title of Gregory VI. Thus were there two successors; Gregory, by an act of Simony, and Sylvester III., by election. The papal writers admit the former to have been the legitimate pope, and his name is honorably enrolled in "that catalogue which has been carefully and providentially preserved." Sylvester is styled an anti-pope. By a council convened at Sutri, at the instance of the emperor Henry III., in the year 1046, Benedict, Sylvester and Gregory, were pronounced equally unworthy of the pontificate, and another was appointed, who assumed the name of Clement II. Clement died soon after; and Benedict, after having been twice deposed by the people of Rome, had disposed of his right for a valuable consideration, and was declared unworthy of the office by an ecclesiastical council, returned and occupied the chair until 1048. Henry sent from Germany, the bishop of Brixen, whom he had elected pope, and who reigned but twenty-three days, as Damasus II. Benedict withdrew on the arrival of Damasus.

In the year 1058, the bishop of Veletri, usurped the chair of St. Peter, without a pretext of right, and occupied it nine months as Benedict X. He was deposed by the bishop of Florence, who assumed the name of Nicolas II. Under the administration of this pontiff, an important change was made in the electoral college. That this might be better understood, it is proper here to make a short explanatory statement.

The ecclesiastical division of a diocese into parishes is clearly defined in the decrees of councils as early as the fifth century; and there is no doubt of its existence at a much earlier period in the history of the Church; as early as the office of a diocesan bishop was instituted. These subdivisions of a diocese were called in Greek, *paroikia*, from the verb *paroikeo*, to dwell near. Over each of these *paroikia*, or (what was intended to be expressed) *neighboring churches*, a presbyter presided; and therefore each parish was properly speaking the circuit or extent of a presbyterial pastorate. These distinctions were recognized in the organization of the Church, from the period when, according to Gibbon, "The lofty title of bishop began to raise itself above the humble appellation of presbyter," and for many centuries after.¹ In time two

¹In the days of the apostles and for some time after, the separate and distinct religious associations in the populous towns and cities, were churches; each of which was under the pastorate of an elder or presbyter, who by virtue of his office of overseer, was also entitled a bishop. There was no organized church without an elder or bishop, to take the oversight of it, and to preach the gospel. These several episcopates became in time united under one head, who was by distinction, an episcopal presbyter, and was styled *bishop*, whilst those under him were called presbyters. These contiguous or neighboring churches were denominated *paroikia*, or parishes, and were under the jurisdiction of the bishop. The presbyters themselves, as mentioned above, were also distinguished by the title of *cardinal*; from the Latin *cardo*, a hinge, "In eo cardo rei vestitur." Cic.

grades of churches were established. The higher in dignity were those which were under the presbyters, and corresponded with the parishes of the present day. These were first called "*titles*;" and the ministers over them, "*priests*." Subsequently they were designated as "*cardinales*" or "*cardinal titles*;" and the priests who ministered over them were styled "*cardinals*." In the ninth century, they are mentioned as cardinal presbyters. From this order, the bishops of Rome, or the popes, after those bishops were elevated to that dignity, were usually elected when fraud or violence did not interpose to bias the election. This was considered a rule so well established, as late as the close of the ninth century, that one of the popes,¹ sometime after his death, was exhumed, the body subjected to a judicial trial, the head and the three fingers used in consecration were cut off, and all his ordinances annulled, on the ground that he was the bishop of Ostia, and not a cardinal presbyter, at the time of his election to the papal chair. It was the duty of these cardinals to attend the popes' councils. They were entitled to seats in the synods; with the privilege of expressing their opinions on ecclesiastical affairs. They attended the pope in his celebration of mass, and in his processions. There were twenty-eight of these parishes, or principal churches, in the city of Rome; and each parish was governed by a cardinal presbyter, or cardinal clerk, as he is called in the decree of Nicolas II., which shall shortly be referred to more particularly.

The inferior grade of churches, embraced what were called deaneries; their ministers were deans or deacons, who were in the course of time distinguished as *cardinal deacons*. These were hospitals for the poor. The ecclesiastical establishments known as oratories, were chapels in which the mass was celebrated; but the sacrament was not administered.

There was also what was termed the ecclesiastical senate; composed of the seven cardinal bishops who ruled over the suburban dioceses of Ostia, Porto, Velitrae, Tusculum, Præneste, Tibur, and the Sabines. These cardinal bishops were suffragans of the pope as patriarch or Metropolitan. They were also entitled in the decree of Nicolas, "*comprovinciales episcopi*."² This senate consecrated the Roman pontiff, after the assent of the emperors to the election was received. With these explanatory statements, the decree of Nicolas which changed the ancient mode of electing the pontiffs will be better understood.

By that decree, upon a vacancy occurring in the Roman see, the senate of suburban bishops deliberated on the proper choice of a successor, and after their selection of a suitable candidate, they called in the counsel of the cardinal presbyters. These together constituted what was called the electoral college. The rest of the

¹Formosus; in the year 896.

clergy and the people were then called on to give their sanction to the proceeding. So that although the laity were not then excluded from a participation in the election of the pontiffs, a foundation was laid for their future exclusion; which was accomplished in the following century. For when in the year 1181, the death of Alexander III., occasioned a vacancy in the pontificate, his successor Lucius III., was elected and consecrated without the consent of the clergy and people. The electoral college of cardinals controlled the whole proceeding. From that period, the popes have been uniformly elected by that body alone.

Before the decree of Nicolas, not only the votes of the cardinals, but the suffrages of the whole Roman clergy, the nobility, the burgesses, and the assembly of the people, were necessary to determine the election of a pontiff.

After the death of Nicolas, the bishop of Lucca was elected, and was consecrated to the office as Alexander II., without the consent of Henry IV., or the regency of the empire. The decree of Nicolas expressly admitted this right of sanctioning or annulling the acts of the electoral college in Henry, by declaring that "all this shall be done without any prejudice to the honor of our dear son Henry, who is now king and shall soon be emperor," &c. Agnes, the mother of Henry, who was yet in his minority, assembled a council at Basil, by whom the bishop of Parma was elected pontiff, and who assumed the name of Honorius II. It is evident that, according to the plainest construction of that decree, neither of those rival claimants were entitled to the succession; the election of one not having been approved by the emperor, agreeably too, to a right admitted and exercised from the time of Otho, the Great, and previous to that date, for many centuries before by the emperors; and that of the other having been informal, although sanctioned by the regency of the empire. So far as precedents may govern, the claim of Honorius was unquestionable. The popes for ages back, with occasional exceptions only, had uniformly deferred their consecration until that approval was obtained; or held their seats under the authority of the reigning emperors; and indeed in many instances were directly appointed by them. These conflicts, however, are incontestible evidences that there has been no regular succession to the apostolic chair of St. Peter, agreeably to any established laws of the Church, and by a strict construction of such ecclesiastical ordinances, as have existed from time to time, scarcely a pope has occupied that seat who was not a usurper. This rejection of the authority of the emperor at the first vacancy, which occurred after the solemn ratification of the decree, proves the ambition, the duplicity and faithlessness of the popish church. The contest for the papal chair was carried on for several years between the rival claimants; and was sustained on both sides with unabated fury and by acts of violence and bloodshed.

On the death of Alexander, in the year 1073, the celebrated Hildebrand, an arch-deacon of the Roman church, but formerly a monk of Clugni, was elevated to the papal throne. This wily prelate secured an undisputed possession of the throne, by having his election expressed by the suffrages of the cardinals, the bishops, the abbots, the monks, and the people. Nor would he consent to be consecrated, until the emperor had confirmed his election by a formal expression of approbation. Hildebrand was a man of unbounded ambition, capable of forming the most comprehensive plans; his genius enabled him to accomplish all the objects embraced in the wide scope of his aspiring and enterprising spirit. No difficulties could intimidate him. No dangers could shake his resolution or impede his advance. Devoid of all moral or religious principle, he was not fastidious as to the means, in the accomplishment of his purposes. Universal power was his ultimate object; and neither his conscience, nor his religion interposed any obstacles in his schemes of aggrandizement, or in the execution of his plans. Such was the character of Gregory VII., against whom the youthful Henry had to contend.

He demanded of William the Conqueror, homage for the kingdom of England; which he claimed as a fief of the apostolic see. He claimed France as a tributary, and told the king that both his dominions and his soul, were under the spiritual control of the successor of St. Peter. He insisted that Saxony was subject to him as a feudal tenure, by virtue of an ancient grant from Charlemagne. He addressed letters to every prince and potentate in Europe, demanding from them, an acknowledgment of their allegiance to him and the payment of tribute.

Gregory contemplated in the vastness of his plans of empire, a spiritual judicatory in Rome, which would decide all controversies between the sovereign states of Europe; and would have erected a tribunal, under the authority of the pontiffs, with appellate jurisdiction over all matters of an ecclesiastical, or of a political nature.

About the year 1075, the contest between Henry IV. and Gregory VII., on the subject of investitures commenced; in which, after many vicissitudes of fortune, Gregory was overcome. This arose from the efforts made by that pontiff to extirpate Simony. The object might have been accomplished, had he prosecuted his plan with more moderation, and with due consideration of his means of executing it.

His attempt to convene a council in Germany, with the view of inflicting punishment on those who had been guilty of this offense, was opposed both by the emperor and the German bishops. Gregory, incensed by this opposition to his will, assembled a council at Rome, by which he not only excommunicated certain bishops, as well in Germany as in Italy, who he supposed had counseled

with Henry in the unlawful presentation to benefices; but he published an anathema against all bishops and abbots who should receive investitures from laymen, and against any of the latter who might confer them. This decree was an unqualified abnegation of a right, which had been exercised by the several princes of Europe for many ages before, and which as an ancient and undoubted right, they were not disposed to relinquish. Before I proceed to the events which arose out of this controversy, it may be proper to remark in explanation, that an investiture is what is termed in law, "a livery of seizin," or "giving the possession of a manor, an office, or a benefice."

Agreeably to the laws of the feudal system, introduced into Europe by the northern nations who invaded the Roman empire, and overran its provinces in the fifth and following centuries, a fief was conferred upon the vassal by the lord, by the ceremony of the former doing homage and taking an oath of fidelity, and of the latter investing in him the land to be held in fealty. If the tenant be not put into the actual possession of the land or fief, which is the livery of seizin in strict construction; something was given to him by the lord as a representative of this delivery, and which was equivalent to it. When the bishops and other dignitaries of the Church acquired temporal interests in the sees, over which their jurisdiction as spiritual lords extended, it was necessary that they should be endowed with the temporalities or fiefs of the sees, by a ceremony similar to that by which other fiefs were conveyed, by the landlord to the vassal or feudatory. The emperor Charlemagne, is supposed to have introduced the formality of investing the bishops, after their consecration, by delivering to them the ring and crosier. The ring denoted the nuptial bond between the bishop and his see. The crosier was the symbol of his pastoral character.

The ceremony then of delivering to a bishop the ring and crosier or pastoral staff was an act of investiture; and was similar to the actual conveyance of feudal lands to feudatories by the lords, symbolically expressed by the delivery of a wand, a branch, or a turf. The usual forms in conferring an investiture was, as soon as an incumbent bishop died, the superior magistrate of the province took these symbols of the episcopal office, and sent them to the prince who had the right of investiture. They were then sent or delivered to the person whom he intended to promote to the vacant see. The new bishop thus invested, went with them to the metropolitan, by whom he was to be consecrated, and delivered them to him. After consecration, they were returned to him by the metropolitan; and he was thus doubly confirmed in his office.

The clergy, having forgotten their sacred character as the ministers of the gospel, and neglected their spiritual avocations, had obtruded themselves upon the temporal affairs of the world. They grasped after dignities, distinctions and wealth. And having en-

gaged in the political and civil conflicts of the times, they aspired after pre-eminence in the affairs of the national governments, as well as in all matters properly appertaining to the Church. They were ambitious of acquiring power; and having obtained the titles of counts, marquisses and dukes, they claimed a superiority over their compeers by virtue of their sacred offices of abbots, bishops, and metropolitans. The pope himself, who had become a temporal sovereign and a proprietor of extensive territories, based his pretension to universal dominion upon his spiritual titles of apostolic successor of St. Peter, and vicar of the Lord Jesus Christ. Thus contending for both civil and ecclesiastical preferments, they beheld with jealousy every exercise of a power not invested in the clerical orders, and were impatient under its control. It was with this spirit that Gregory VII. entered into conflicts with the princes of Europe; and during his pontificate disturbed the peace of nations by his ambitious projects and schemes of self-aggrandizement. His pretext was, the correction of abuses; his object, the attainment of power.

Urged by these motives, the abuses and corruptions which had undoubtedly sprung out of the exercise of the right of investitures, presented an open field for the display of his spiritual prerogatives. Instead of endeavoring to correct the evil, he, with characteristic boldness, struck at the basis of the institution, and attempted to wrest from the princes of Europe, a right which they claimed as appurtenant to the royal prerogative.

Henry resisted, and Gregory summoned him to appear in person at the Vatican, to answer the charges alledged against him of Simoniacal practices and other offenses. A council of bishops was convened by the emperor at Worms, in which Gregory himself was accused of many flagrant acts of a criminal character, declared unworthy of his office and formally deposed. The pontiff exasperated by the sentence of the council and the contumacy of Henry, published a bull of excommunication against him, and absolved his subjects from all allegiance to him as sovereign; and at the same time called on the princes of the empire to displace Henry, and elevate another to the throne. The princes, obsequious to the mandates of the pope, assembled at Tribur in the year 1076, determined that the controversy should be submitted to the judgment of Gregory, that Henry, in the mean time, should resign his royal prerogatives, and that unless the sentence of excommunication was withdrawn within a year, he should be finally deposed. Henry, overpowered by this combination against him, acquiesced in the decision; and amid the severities of the winter crossed the Alps, and went to the fortress of Canusium, where Gregory was quietly reposing in his amorous intercourse with Matilda, the young and beautiful countess of Tuscany. After remaining three days at the gates of the fortress, with no other protection from the inclemencies of the season

but a piece of coarse cloth to conceal his nakedness, he received from the haughty pontiff, the absolution he submissively importuned for, under the condition that he would not resume his royal prerogatives nor his title, until a council was convened to determine finally the controversy between them.

The confederate princes, offended with the obsequiousness of Henry, to which their own conduct had driven him, elected Rodolph, duke of Suabia, in his place. This occasioned a civil war in Germany and Italy, which was carried on with doubtful success; but in which, the wily pontiff uncertain of the issue, preserved apparently a perfect neutrality. The battle of Flandenheim in 1080, was unfavorable to Henry; and Gregory believing the conflict to be terminated to his prejudice, excommunicated him by a second sentence and sent a crown to Rodolph, and declared him the lawful emperor. Henry, although defeated, was still sustained by formidable forces. He summoned a council of German and Italian bishops, who deposed Gregory a second time; and not long after a Synod at Brixen, in the province of Tyrol, elected the archbishop of Ravenna, pontiff; who assumed the title of Clement III. Another sanguinary engagement between the armies of these rival claimants on the banks of the river Elster, decided the contest in favor of Henry; who marched to Rome and besieged Gregory. Having obtained the possession of the city, he had Clement consecrated and placed on the papal throne. Gregory fled to Salernum, where he died the following year, or in 1085.

Clement occupied the seat, and was acknowledged by the greater part of Italy. But the party which had sustained Gregory, aided by the Normans, elected the abbot of Mount Cassin in opposition to him; who is known in history as Victor III. In 1087, the supporters of the claims of Victor, obtained possession of the city, and he was consecrated in the church of St. Peter. Thus were there two rival popes, both informally elected and both consecrated to the office. But Clement having recovered the possession of the city, Victor, who was unambitious and of a pacific temper, abdicated; and retired to the monastery of Mount Cassin, where he died. Before his abdication, he confirmed the laws which had been enacted by Gregory for the abolition of investitures. By his recommendation, the bishop of Ostia was elected his successor, at Terracina, in the year 1088; and assumed the name of Urban II. It will be recollected that Formosus, whilst bishop of Ostia, was elected to the papal chair; and that one of his successors had his body exhumed, tried and barbarously mutilated; and annulled all of his ordinances; because, when elected, he was not of the order of cardinal presbyters, and therefore was made pope against the disposition of the holy decrees. Urban was, like Gregory, factious, overbearing and ambitious; but he had neither the talents nor the unwavering firmness of his predecessor. By his instigation, Con-

rad, the son of Henry IV., was persuaded to revolt against his father, and to proclaim himself king of Italy. To this rebellion, the famous Matilda, who had been the paramour of Gregory, contributed by her intrigues and her influence. Urban, baffled in his attempts to dispossess Clement, went to France, and there in the year 1095, convened a council at Clermont. By the decrees of this council, Urban (who dictated its proceedings,) prohibited the bishops and other clergy from taking the oath of allegiance to their respective sovereigns. It was enacted, "That no bishop or priest shall promise upon oath, liege obedience to any king or any layman." In the year 1099, he returned to Italy; and succeeded in seizing the castle of St. Angelo, where he soon after died. Clement, who had been consecrated in 1084, and had been from that time to the year 1100, *de facto* pope, has been excluded from "that catalogue which has been carefully and providentially preserved," and his name is inserted by the popish writers in the list of anti-popes. He died in 1100, and was succeeded by Pascal II.

In the year 1053, the contest between the Greek and Latin churches was renewed; by charges alledged by Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, against the popish church, and which occasioned a lengthened and bitter controversy between them. With a view of terminating these dissensions, Constantine, surnamed Monomachus, the emperor of the East, requested the pontiff, Leo IX., to send legates to Constantinople. Leo was aware, however, that Constantine was extremely anxious to propitiate his favor, and through him the friendship of Henry III., emperor of Germany. This was the period when the Normans were successfully pursuing their conquests of the Greek provinces in Italy and Sicily, and Constantine desired the assistance of the Germans and Italians to regain his lost possessions. Leo had excommunicated the Greek churches by a council assembled in Rome; and the embarrassments of the Greek empire were rather encouragements for assuming a haughty and threatening tone towards an ancient enemy of the Romish church.

His embassy was therefore sent, under an expectation that the favorable circumstances which have been mentioned, might be directed to his advantage, and that the Eastern hierarchy could be persuaded or intimidated into an acknowledgment of his supremacy. This expectation was not realized. The patriarch was unyielding, and his language was not less high toned than that of his adversary. The legates of Leo, exasperated by the conduct of Cerularius, publicly in the church of St. Sophia, pronounced a sentence of excommunication against him and all his adherents; and depositing on the grand altar of that temple a written anathema, they thundered out their curses and imprecations, scraped the dust from their feet and departed. Cerularius in his turn excommunicated the legates, and the written anathema was indignantly committed to the

flames. The Greeks had accused the papal church of using unleavened bread at their communion, of eating the blood of animals killed by strangulation, and of the immoralities and vices of its clergy. Such was the issue of this fruitless attempt in 1054, to effect union and harmony between these two great branches of the Church of Christ, if such they really were.

Gregory, in the second year of his pontificate, convened a council in Rome, which renewed and confirmed all the laws against Simony. This we have seen, occasioned the controversy on the subject of investitures. Another decree of that council, prohibited the clergy from entering into bonds of wedlock; and imperatively required those who had wives or concubines, either to dismiss them or to resign the priestly office. As few of the clergy were without wives or concubines, notwithstanding the prohibitory laws which had been passed, this peremptory and rigid requirement occasioned tumults and dissensions every where. Many of the ecclesiastics preferred the latter alternative, and gave up their benefices. Some of them, incensed by the rigorous enforcement of the law, withdrew from a communion with the Romish church. Indeed, Gregory himself should have been compelled to abdicate the papal throne; for it is a fact well authenticated in history, that he lived in open concubinage with Matilda, the countess of Tuscany.

In the Greek church, a controversy arose concerning the sanctity of images. The authority of the popes appears to have settled this question permanently in the Western churches, before this period. That God is not the only object to be worshipped, was decreed by successive popes; and the Romish church may be said to have established this as an orthodox doctrine, and an article of papal as well as of pagan faith. Alexius Comnenus, reduced in his resources by the wars in which he had been engaged for the preservation of his distant provinces, exhausted the treasures of the Church, and at length was compelled to convert the silver plates and images into money. This drew down upon him the execrations of the idolaters, who accused him of sacrilege. The bishop of Chalcedon, alledged this charge against the emperor; and maintained it by the declaration, that "In the images of Jesus Christ and of the saints, there resided a certain kind of inherent sanctity, that was a proper object of religious worship," and that, therefore, "the adoration of Christians ought not to be confined to the persons represented by these images, but extended also to the images themselves." The controversy was quieted, except as to the opposition of the bishop, by a council which decreed, that "the images were to be honored only with a relative worship;" that neither painting nor sculpture partook of the nature of the persons they represented; although they were enriched with a certain communication of divine grace; and, that "the invocation and worship were to be addressed to the saints, only as the servants of Christ,

and on account of their relation to him as their master." These doctrines were not sufficiently absurd to correspond with the views of the bishop of Chalcedon; and to end the controversy, he was banished. The difference between the Latin and the Greek churches on this point appears to be this; in the former, images are the objects of worship; in the latter, images are excluded from the sanctuaries of worship, but pictures are admitted, not however, as objects of worship, but merely as memorials of faith. The Latins are Iconolatæ, the Greeks are not. I will here advert to some other points of difference between those two churches; as I shall not have occasion again to refer particularly to the latter.

Perhaps the rejection of the spiritual supremacy of its head or patriarch by the Greek church, may be considered the fundamental distinction between it and the Roman church. This difference did not arise either from an unaspiring spirit in the rulers of that church, or from a less devotion to superstitious observances on the part of the Greeks; but it is attributable to the circumstance of the patriarchs having been always under the immediate and direct control of the emperors. The Roman pontiffs were further removed from the imperial authority; and hence they very early acquired an influence in temporal affairs. The primacy which was conceded to the bishop of the Roman see over the churches in the West, was founded solely on the fact of its embracing the capital of the Roman empire in that portion of its provinces. When the city of Constantinople became the capital of the East, the patriarch of that church was elevated to an equality of dignity, rank and power, with the Roman pontiff. There was then no pretense of divine right advanced on either side. For in the first centuries of the Christian era, the apostolic churches of Rome, of Jerusalem, of Antioch, and of Alexandria, were each supreme within its own jurisdiction. After the conversion of Constantine, in the fourth century, commenced the remarkable changes in their relative rank, which were continued by the political changes which occurred in Europe and Asia.

In doctrines, the Greek and Latin churches differ on the subject of the procession of the Holy Ghost. The controversy on this point, it will be recollected, originated at a council in Gentili, (France) in the year 767. They still adhere to their respective opinions. The former maintains that the Holy Ghost proceeds from "the Father" only, the latter, that it proceeds from the "Father and the Son." The Greeks reject the doctrine of purgatory, although they appear to sanction it by their prayers for the dead. They also reject that of transubstantiation; believing with the Lutherans in what is termed consubstantiation. It may be remarked here, that this difference of opinion on the nature of the elements in the eucharist, did not exist in the eleventh century, nor indeed before the thirteenth; for it was not until the council (the

fourth of Lateran,) in the year 1215, adopted the doctrine of transubstantiation, that it was made an article of faith in the Romish church. In the administration of the Lord's Supper, both the bread and the wine are given to the laity; and even to children, as was the custom in the latter church. The bread is leavened, and given in a spoon mixed with the consecrated wine. Nor did these churches differ in the administration of the bread and wine to all communicants before the fifteenth century. The council of Constance, in the year 1415, passed a decree which withheld the cup from the laity. Since that time the communion has been administered to them only in one kind, that is "the bread." The Greeks do not acknowledge works of supererogation; nor do they allow of indulgences and dispensations. They also reject auricular confession. Their baptisms are performed by immersion; and the chrism is used after it. All orders of their clergy, except the monks, are allowed to marry a virgin, but not a widow; nor can they marry a second time. These are some of the obvious points of difference between those two churches. From which it will appear, that though they are widely separated in rites, doctrines, and practices, neither approximates the religious tenets of the Protestant churches. In the commencement of the sixteenth century, Melancthon sent to the patriarch of Constantinople, a copy of the Augsburg Confession; with the expectation of effecting an union between the Greek and Protestant churches. Several attempts were afterwards made with the same view, but these efforts have been unavailable. They are manifestly impracticable.

The controversy on the nature of the elements in the eucharist, after consecration, was revived in this century. Berenger, archbishop of Angers, in the year 1045, maintained, that "The bread and wine are not changed into the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist; but preserve their natural and essential qualities; and are no more than figures and external symbols of the body and blood of the divine Savior." Although the Church had not then spoken with authority on the subject, the doctrine of the "real presence" was favorably received by the pontiffs, and by the clergy generally. Leo IX., five years after Berenger had advanced his opinion, pronounced a sentence of condemnation against it. Three councils, one in Rome, another in Vercelli, and a third in Paris, sustained the pontiff. Berenger was steadfast in maintaining his ground; and the controversy subsided. On the accession of Victor II., in 1054, the discussion was renewed; and at a council in Tours, Berenger, overawed by the opposition to him, and the menacing language of Hildebrand, who was the pope's legate, retracted, and abjured his doctrine. He, notwithstanding, adhered to them in sentiment; and sometime after reaffirmed his former opinions. This obstinacy and duplicity provoked the reigning pontiff, Nicolas II., who in 1058, convened a council in Rome; and having drawn up a confession of

faith, which declared "the bread and wine, after consecration, to be not only a sacrament, but the real body and blood of Jesus Christ," he compelled Berenger to assent to it, and to confirm that assent by his signature and his oath. But that prelate was neither convinced nor silenced. He returned to France, and declared his detestation of the doctrine he had been compelled to sign. Gregory VII., ascended the pontifical chair in 1073, and at a council in Rome in the year 1078, he permitted Berenger to withdraw all that he had been forced to affirm, and to draw out, unbiassed by any previous proceeding, a clear exposition of his creed. This was done; and although Gregory expressed his approbation of the doctrine it contained, the enemies of Berenger declared his expressions ambiguous, (which they were,) and insisted upon his declaring his opinions in a more intelligible form. In another council, therefore, he confessed that "the bread and wine, after consecration, were converted into the real body and blood of Christ," &c. This however, he shortly after emphatically repudiated; and by an elaborate treatise, sustained his opinion and exposed the absurdity of the doctrine contained in his last confession. Nor could Gregory be induced to prosecute any further measures against him or his doctrines. Thus did Berenger oppose the decrees of the several councils which had condemned him and the acts of the popes who had preceded Gregory. From which we must conclude, that not only Gregory himself, but the Church as a body, approved of his doctrine. That pontiff's opinion as expressed was, that "It is improper to pry with too much curiosity into the mysteries of the eucharist, but safe to adhere to the plain words of Scripture, *"contra quas Berengarius nihil habebat."* Which is a direct sanction of Berenger's doctrine.

The Latin language had long ceased to be the vernacular of any of the nations in Europe, and was intelligible only to the learned. Alexander II. and Gregory VII., who made zealous but ineffectual efforts to establish an uniform system of rites and ceremonies in the public worship throughout the papal jurisdiction, endeavored to introduce the Latin tongue in the performance of the services. The liturgies then in use, were in the language of the people for whom they were intended. It is difficult to ascertain what was the object in compelling worshippers to pray in an unknown tongue. Gregory was indefatigable, but his exertions were not crowned with the success he anticipated, as will be seen in the history of the thirteenth century.¹

¹The Gothic liturgy was used in Spain. The nobles of Castile, averse to the adoption of the Latin, referred the decision to single combat. The champion of the Gothic liturgy was victorious. They then resorted to the fire ordeal. A Roman and a Gothic liturgy were committed to the flames. The former was consumed, but the latter remained in the fire unhurt. The authority of the pope, however, prevailed against the issue of the ordeals, and the Roman ritual was finally adopted.

The theologians of this age began to apply the rules of logic and the refined reasoning of the metaphysical science in the elucidation of the Scriptures. The system of scholastic theology, however, did not originate in this century. It was introduced in the eighth century, by the doctors of the Hibernian school founded by Columba, known as the Irish divines. It was then called the "*Syllogismus delusionis*," from its sophistical and fallacious character; obscuring the truth and bewildering the understanding, rather than leading the mind through a clear and intelligible process of analysis and investigation. Berengarius, and his opponent Lanfranc, were the most distinguished in this age of those who applied this philosophical mode of reasoning to their biblical researches. Thus was the Christian religion reduced to a science; and in succeeding centuries, it was difficult to distinguish the true light of revelation, from those false meteors whose rays were calculated to bewilder and to confound. Christianity became involved in the mysteries of a subtle and unmeaning jargon of terms and definitions.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

The history of the Paulicians has been traced from their revival in the middle of the seventh century by Constantine, of Samosata, in Syria, to the commencement of this. Two colonies of them were transplanted from Asia to Europe. One, in the middle of the eighth century, by the emperor Constantine Copronymus; another, in the year 970, by John Zimisce. In the last century, they had extended their settlements into the provinces of Macedonia and of Epirus. They were united with the Bulgarians in the wars which were carried on against them by Zimisce, and by his successor Basilus II., or from the year 970 to 1019; when they were finally conquered and united to the dominions of the empire. That they must have commenced their voluntary migrations to the Western states of Europe between those two periods is rendered certain, from the fact recorded in history, that in the year 1007, they composed a religious assembly in Orleans (France,) and among them were "twelve canons of the cathedral of Orleans, men eminently distinguished by their piety and learning; and a considerable number of citizens who were far from being of the meanest condition." In that year thirteen of them were committed to the flames by the papal authority.¹ "Their enemies," says Mosheim, "acknowledged the sincerity of their piety; but they were blackened by accusations which were evidently false. The opinions for which they were punished differ widely from the Manichæan system." This

¹They were condemned by a council assembled in Orleans by Robert; and therefore, it might appear that their punishment was inflicted by the civil authorities. But the persecution was by the instigation of a popish priest; and Robert was the servile instrument of the pope.

sentence of exculpation comes too, from a writer who embraced every opportunity of casting reproach and obloquy upon this sect.

As we are principally interested in the history of those branches which removed to Germany, France and Italy, I shall but briefly refer here to the great body which continued to reside under the dominion of the Greek emperors.

In the reign of Michael IV., surnamed the Paphlagonian, or in the year 1040, they were engaged in the war between the Normans and the Greeks. The author who mentions them, speaks of their doctrines as "a most wicked error;" but "he was so ignorant of their doctrine," says Gibbon, "that he makes them a kind of Labellians or Patripassians." In the reign of Alexis I., surnamed Comnenus, two thousand five hundred of them deserted the Greek army and returned to Philippopolis, on the river Hæbrus, in Thrace. Alexis undertook an apostolic mission among them, and labored by reason and argument to convert them to the Greek faith. Those who yielded to the persuasive eloquence of the emperor, were rewarded by distinctions and wealth. These were few. The obstinate and the contumacious were pursued with the sword, and their city was wrested from them. This was at the close of the twelfth century. "In the beginning of the thirteenth century, their pope or primate," says Gibbon, "resided on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia and Dalmatia, and governed by his vicars." This was a manifest corruption of their original institutions. In the sixteenth century, a remnant of that sect resided in the valleys of mount Hæmus; and they have been traced to the close of the seventeenth century, in ignorance and poverty; degraded by the idolatrous worship of the cross, and the practice of bloody sacrifice; having lost all knowledge of their origin and of the religion of their ancestors.¹

It would be a fruitless labor to attempt to pursue the first migrations of the Paulicans to the West; and unsatisfactory to compare the conjectures of the writers who have endeavored to determine the periods of those migrations, and the progress of their disconnected and desultory settlement. It is certain, that in the early part of the eleventh century, they were numerous in France. In the middle of the same century, they were widely scattered over Germany; and had settled in Lombardy, Insubria, and on the tributaries of the river Po; and were therefore at this early period at the foot of the Alpine mountains, or in the valleys of Piedmont.

Having been confounded with the Bulgarians, in their wars against the Greek emperors, they were distinguished in France, first as Bulgarians or Bulgarii, (and by corruption Boulgres, or Bougres,) then as Publicans, which was evidently a corrupt pronunciation of the word Paulicians; and in the following or twelfth cen-

¹Gibbon's Roman Empire.

ture they were called Albigenes. At this latter period, they were numerous in the Southern provinces of France. Languedoc, Provence, Dauphine and Savoy, constituted that portion of France which was known as Narbonne Gaul, or Albigesium. Hence the term Albigenes, first applied to the Paulicians in those provinces, when the persecution against them by pope Alexander III., commenced; but was afterwards attached to all dissenters from the church of Rome indiscriminately.

The Paulicians who settled in Italy were called *Paterini*, and *Cathari* or *Gazari*. This title is supposed to have been given to them from a part of the city of Milan, called Pataria, (still designated as the Contrada de Patari,) in which they were accustomed to assemble. This name was given also to the priests in the city of Milan, who adhered to their wives (under the decree of Gregory VII., which dissolved the matrimonial bonds of the clergy,) and withdrew from their communion with the Romish church. *Paterini* and *Albigenes*, were alike attached to all persons charged with maintaining heretical opinions.

It is proper here to remark, what must be obvious, however, to all who are acquainted with the character of the popish writers of every age, that the titles or epithets by which they have distinguished the religious sects, who have dissented from the church of Rome, are seldom indicative of their true principles. The reproachful name of Manichæan, has been attached by those writers, and indeed by all papists, to whatever denomination of Christians, differing from them in doctrine, and abjuring the authority of the pope, has appeared since the days of Manes. It was thus applied to the Albigenes, to the Waldenses, to the Picards, &c.; and when these latter names themselves were made odious to papacy, they were used to reflect opprobrium on subsequent reformers. We are informed by Milner, in the 3d vol. of his "History of the Christian Church," that "although it was usual to stigmatize new sects with the odious name of Manichees, there are no evidences of any real remains of that ancient sect in the twelfth century."

The history of the Paulicians has been thus brought up to the period, in the eleventh century, of their dispersion through the different states of Europe. There was scarcely a province in which some traces of these sectaries could not have been found. They carried on a commercial intercourse by the Danube and its tributaries, with Hungary and Bavaria. Through Lombardy they reached Switzerland and France. They spread their settlements not only in Bulgaria; but they were found in Slavonia, Sicily, Liguria, and eventually passed over to the British isles. Their migration into Europe seems to have marked the commencement of a new era in the Christian Church—to have given an irresistible impulse to the advance of the reformation. From that period the history of the Church acquired renewed interest. Can we dare to conjecture that

the Paulicians of the twelfth century were the Novatians of the third? There is undoubtedly a degree of probability involved in the supposition; and the believer in the faithfulness of the great Head of the Church, that, according to his promise, He would be with his disciples alway even unto the end of the world, will be warranted in the supposition. What a glorious exhibition of God's truth! We have his declaration, that he will never leave himself without a witness. The force of error and a corrupt hierarchy, drove out of Europe the followers of Novatian in the third century. They seek an asylum from the persecution of the Roman church in the provinces of Asia Minor. History has there traced them with flourishing churches, covering all the provinces of the East; extending beyond the Volga, and probably to the base of the Uralian mountains. Before they disappear from its pages over the same provinces, a numerous sect of dissenters are found; with a new name, but like their predecessors, irreconcilably opposed to the rites, doctrines and government of the Romish church. About nine hundred years after Novatian established his church in Rome, the Paulicians are found in every province of Europe, having like the Novatians lost their name, but propagating doctrines as odious to the Roman hierarchy. Had they in the long duration of time imbibed some false doctrines? Had their light become dim? That may be true. But how much more of the truth did they still preserve than idolatrous Rome!

CHAPTER VIII.

THE army of monks and vagrants who invaded Palestine, under the banners of Peter the Hermit, was routed by the sultan Solyman, in the plain of Nicea, and the miserable remnant returned like scattered herds to Europe. Godfrey, of Bouillon, retook the city of Jerusalem from the Turks, and was proclaimed king; but the pope by his legate, claimed the right of sovereignty over all the territories acquired by the Christian forces. In the year 1146, a second crusade under the command of Hugh, brother of Philip of France, was undertaken; but with no better success than that which attended the expedition of Peter. In the mean time, the garrison of Jerusalem became so much reduced in numbers, that the monks were compelled to take up arms for its defense. This gave rise to the Orders of the Knights, Templars and Hospitallars. The German pilgrims soon after instituted another Order which was known as the Teutonic. A third crusade shared the fate of those which preceded it. Saladin, the sultan of Egypt, wrested the holy city

from the Christians. Richard I., of England, and Philip Augustus, of France, commanded in person the forces of their respective dominions. The former obtained a victory over Saladin at Ascalon; but the partial successes which accompanied this third enterprise resulted in no permanent advantage to the invaders. Such is the brief history of this fanatical war; undertaken in a spirit of religious enthusiasm, and urged on by the Roman pontiffs with the object of extending their spiritual jurisdiction. By their inordinate ambition and wicked thirst for wealth and power, immense numbers of miserably deluded enthusiasts were destroyed; the wealth of Europe was transported into Asia, and the resources of the nations of Europe were diminished.

The project of rescuing the holy land from the hands of the infidels, originated at the close of the tenth century, with pope Sylvester II. He published an address to all Christendom, in the form of an appeal by the church of Jerusalem to the worshippers of the cross, to unite for the relief of the suffering Christians in Palestine, who were groaning under the oppressive yoke of the Mussulmen. Successive pontiffs throughout the eleventh century had cherished the ambitious scheme of adding the provinces of Asia to the papal dominion. Gregory VII. consummated a plan of conquest commensurate with his aspiring and comprehensive genius; and succeeded in arraying a formidable army, which he would have commanded in person, but the humiliation of the potentates of Europe was dearer to him than the subjection of a few distant provinces; and in his efforts to accomplish this, his tender compassion for the oppressed Christians in Palestine subsided and was forgotten.

One of the consequences of these holy wars, in a political point of view, was the concentration of wealth, particularly of landed estate, in the hands of a few. The princes and noblemen who embarked in these expeditions were compelled to mortgage their possessions to obtain the means of defraying their expenses; and in most instances, they became absolutely vested in the mortgagees. The destruction of numerous branches of a family united their several portions into one. And thus, there was raised up a more powerful aristocracy. The kings, by the same process, acquired the proprietary right to duchies and manors which had been vested either in the princes of the royal blood, or in their wealthy subjects.

In these lucrative speculations the clergy were not inactive spectators. Indeed it was their lot to reap the richest portion of the harvest. The priests and the monks acquired immense wealth as residuary legatees. Bequests were made to them of entire estates, after the deduction of the incumbrances upon them, by pious pilgrims enlisted in the cause of the cross. Rich donations were made to obtain the prayers of the Church. Princes, who by violence or fraud, had appropriated to themselves the property of any of

the ecclesiastical orders, made ample restitution; and even injuries alledged to have been done by their remote ancestors were liberally compensated for, by rich presents. The crusaders who escaped the sword of the Saracens, brought back with them the precious relics of saints and martyrs, fortunately discovered in the Holy Land; and these were deposited in the churches and monasteries, to be exhibited to the pious and the devout. "Among them was the dish in which the pascal lamb was served up to Christ and his disciples at the Last Supper!" All these were sources of wealth to the clergy.

We should not however, omit another evil consequence, which opened wider the channels of corruption and vice in the Church, apart from this increase of the wealth of the clergy, which ministered to their sensual indulgences; the removal of the restraints upon the lower orders, by the bishops and abbots accompanying the expeditions. Many of those ghostly fathers, laying aside the helmet of salvation and the sword of the spirit, buckled on the armor of a temporal warfare; and as knights errant, went into distant lands in search of adventures. In the mean time, the indolent priests and monks, "abandoned themselves to all sorts of licentiousness, committing the most flagitious and extravagant excesses, without reluctance or remorse." From this and other concurrent causes, the vices of the clergy of this age, appear to have reached the summit of their enormity. They were devoted to the gratification of every unhallowed lust. The institution of the monastic order of Fonterrault, for both sexes under the same roof, and in which the monks and nuns were permitted to associate, as forming one community, is an evidence of the general corruption of morals which prevailed. "The unanimous voice of the historians of this age, as well as the laws and decrees of synods and councils, declare loudly the gross ignorance, the odious frauds, and the flagitious crimes that reigned among the different ranks and orders of the clergy."¹ The Benedictine order, founded in the sixth century, and of which the monastery of Fonterrault was a branch, had long before this century, become notorious for the looseness of its discipline, and was at this time, the receptacle of debauchery and vice.

From the beginning of the eleventh century, notwithstanding this profligacy of character in the clergy, and the daring assumptions of the pontiffs which excited an angry warfare between the empire and the priesthood, the authority of the papal throne acquired by very sensible degrees, an ascendancy over the kingdoms of Europe. Although they had received the imposing title of "Masters of the world," they were notwithstanding, restrained by the emperors in the full exercise of the power which that title guaranteed. During the pontificate of Innocent III., or from the year 1198 to the year

¹Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, 12th century.

1216, the papal power may be said to have arrived at its highest eminence, and to have been placed on a firm and settled basis. Before the expiration of the thirteenth century, their claims were questioned both by the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities. In the fourteenth century, their power was diminished by their residence in Avignon; and in the fifteenth century, the councils of Constance and of Basil, declared it to be inferior to that of the ecumenical councils.

Pascal II. was elevated to the Roman see in the last year of the preceding century. But his election was strenuously opposed by the imperial party. In consequence of this opposition, contentions and discord prevailed in the city. Three successive rivals were chosen, but each in turn was overpowered by the strength of the papal influence, which was now in the ascendant. The popes had heretofore submitted, but with manifest reluctance, to the controlling power of the emperors. They had for ages past, received their appointments from a temporal throne. And, with a few exceptions, the successors in St. Peter's chair, derived their right to the seat from the ruling princes. The superstition of the times, and the extension of the temporal prerogatives of the popes, enabled them to oppose with success, this interference of the emperors; and it will be seen that at the close of this century, they became not only independent of that foreign control, but assumed to themselves the supremacy over temporal, as well as, spiritual affairs.

After the death of Pascal, a Benedictine monk was raised to the throne; who is known as Gelasius II. The emperor Henry V., appointed an archbishop of Spain to the see, who assumed the name of Gregory VIII. Gelasius fearing the power of Henry, and apprehensive of danger in Rome, fled to France, where he soon after died. The cardinals who accompanied him, elected the arch-bishop of Vienna, who was also count of Burgundy, to the pontificate. This was Calixtus II. He was a near relative of the emperor, and was therefore acceptable to him.

In the year 1130 a schism occurred in the Church. The electoral college was divided in the choice of a successor to Honorius II. One party elected a cardinal deacon of St. Angelo, who assumed the name of Innocent II., the other a Roman prince, or Anacletus II. Innocent, unable to retain his seat from the weakness of his party, retired from the Vatican, and took refuge in France. Anacletus was more powerful than his adversary in Italy; and therefore succeeded in dispossessing him of the occupancy of the seat. The most bigoted and obstinate contender for the right of apostolic succession cannot determine in this contest, which of those claimants should be properly placed in the direct line, to the entire exclusion of the other. It is true, the papists inform us, that the apostles Peter and Paul occupied at the same time, co-ordinate dio-

ceses in Rome, one being bishop of the Jewish and the other of the Gentile church. Innocent and Anacletus had therefore, a wholesome and safe precedent for the joint occupancy of the Roman see. Physical power, however, in this instance, determined the question of right; and as the stronger force was arrayed in the city to sustain the pretensions of the latter, he quietly reposed in his seat until his death, in the year 1138. But in that catalogue of apostolic successors which has been carefully and providentially preserved, his name is not enrolled. He has been unceremoniously placed in the black list of anti-popes, and stands proscribed and anathematized by the Romish church, as a schismatic and a heretic.

The reign of Lucius II., which commenced in the year 1144, was short, but tumultuous. Seditions and riots prevailed in the city; and at the expiration of eleven months after his accession, he fell a victim to the disorder and riots which disturbed the public tranquillity. He was killed by a mob of the citizens. His successor, Eugenius III., who was a Cistercian monk when elected, enjoyed but short intervals of repose. The tumults of the populace were beyond the control of this ghostly father; and his authority was not only disregarded, but set at defiance and resisted by the multitude. A precipitate flight from the city rescued him from the fate of his predecessor. During the greater part of his reign, he resided in France. He died in the year 1153.

It is proper to mention here, what will be more particularly referred to in pursuing "the progress of the Reformation," that the disorders and civil commotions which prevailed in Rome from 1144 to 1155, were occasioned by the efforts which were made by influential citizens, incited and sustained by Arnold of Brescia, "to divest the Church of its worldly possessions, and to reduce it to its primitive simplicity." The history of this period clearly points to it, as a remarkable epoch in the Christian Church. Although the papal power was still advancing onward, to that consummation which it acquired at the close of this century, a renewed impetus was now given to the spirit of reformation. The Paulicians had been widely dispersed over Europe during the last century. They were irreconcilable enemies to popery; and were bold opposers of its usurpations and abuses of power. Their principles must necessarily have been imbibed by those, who, from a higher degree of enlightenment, had clearer views of the divine truths of the gospel. With their religious tenets drawn from the Scriptures of the New Testament, they also imparted an undaunted spirit in maintaining them. In the early part of this century, Peter de Bruis was a martyr to the truth; in the middle of the century, Arnold of Brescia was crucified and burned in the same holy cause; and at the close of it, commenced the persecutions against the Albigenses.—From this period then, we enter upon new and interesting scenes. A succession of witnesses appeared to testify, and to seal with their

blood, the profession of their faith. Nor should we be surprised that the standard of opposition to papal supremacy was erected at the gates of the Vatican. In Rome the corruptions of popery were manifest to all. The vices of the pontiffs had removed from the minds of the people, that veneration and awe for the clergy which prevailed every where; and we are assured by writers of the age, that Roman citizens were less under the control of those superstitious feelings, which sustained the pretensions of the popes, than those who resided at a distance from the capital. We shall now return to the history of the succession.

After the death of Adrian, in the year 1159, the electoral college was again divided into two contending parties. One of the factions elected the bishop of Sienna, or Alexander III.; the other chose a cardinal of St. Cecilia, who assumed the title of Victor IV. To determine the conflicting claims of the two pontiffs, a council convened in the following year at Pavia. Victor was declared the rightful successor; and Alexander fled to France. On the death of Victor, who held the seat until 1164, a cardinal of St. Calixtus was chosen, through the influence of the emperor Frederick I., surnamed Barbarossa; and was known as Pascal III. In the year 1167, a diet of princes at Wurtzbourg, acknowledged him as the legitimate pontiff. Soon after these occurrences however, Alexander, who had remained in France from the time of his expulsion from Rome by Victor, returned to Italy, and succeeded in regaining possession of the Vatican.¹ In a council held in the Lateran,² he excommunicated Frederick; published the anathemas of the Church against him; declared the imperial throne vacant; absolved the allegiance of his subjects, and called upon them to abjure his authority. The emperor marched to Rome at the head of a strong army, and the presumptuous Alexander fled to Benevento.

In 1168 Pascal died, and the cardinals of his party elected the abbot of Strum, or Calixtus III. The emperor sustained him. After many vicissitudes of fortune, in which Frederick was alternately victorious or defeated, in his wars against the provinces which had revolted from him, he made a treaty of peace with Alexander, in the year 1174, at Venice. Victor, Pascal, and Calixtus are num-

¹The *Vatican* is the ancient palace of the popes. It stands on the right bank of the Tiber, in Rome; and on a hill formerly of the same name. The name is derived from Jupiter Vaticanus, to whom a temple, in times of very remote antiquity, was there dedicated. It is said, that the first building erected there as a residence, was by Symmachus, in the beginning of the sixth century. It now contains, from numerous additions by successive popes, 4422 rooms. The length of the Museum of Statues is said to be one mile.

²The *Lateran*, was a palace given by Constantine to the bishops (afterward popes) of Rome. They continued to reside in it until their removal to Avignon, in the fourteenth century. An ancient family called the Laterani, had a palace on that site which was seized by Nero. Hence the name. It has been for centuries past, a church dedicated to St. John Lateran. It is the Metropolitan church of the see of Rome. The papal councils are held in it.

bered with the anti-popes; and Alexander, who was a greater part of the time after his election, banished from Rome by his adversaries, has been placed by the papal chroniclers in the line of apostolic succession. Lucius III., who was the bishop of Ostia, was elected by the cardinals alone, in conformity with a law established by Alexander, in a council of the Lateran, in the year 1178, and which shall be mentioned more particularly in its proper place. He succeeded Alexander, who died in possession of the chair in 1181. It was in consequence of this new mode of election, by which not only the people, but the Roman clergy were deprived of their right of suffrage in the election of the pontiffs, that Lucius was twice driven out of the city by the populace. He died in banishment at Verona, three years after his elevation to the pontificate. From Alexander III. to Innocent III., or from the year 1181 to 1198, a period of seventeen years, five popes occupied the papal throne. Innocent III., whose previous name and title, were Lotharius, count of Segni, and Cardinal Deacon, ascended the chair of St. Peter in the year 1198. The events of his pontificate belong to the history of the thirteenth century.

Pascal II. renewed the controversy on the subject of Investitures which had been so warmly maintained in the last century, between Gregory VII. and Henry IV. That prince still occupied the imperial throne. To paralyze his energies, Pascal incited his son to rebel against him; dissolved the allegiance which he owed as a subject, and promoted the cause of this unnatural traitor by every means in his power. Henry IV. died of a broken heart, in the year 1106. But Henry V., who had thus acquired the throne, resisted the demands of Pascal with that determined obstinacy which had marked the measures of his father, in his contests with Gregory. He marched with an army into Italy. The affrighted pontiff proposed to him, that if he would relinquish the right of investing with the ring and crosier, the bishops and abbots should resign to him all the grants they had received from Charlemagne, of rights which properly appertained to the sovereignty of the empire, "such as raising tribute, coining money, holding lands independent of the emperor," &c. Such were the terms of pacification between the parties. But from the remonstrances of the bishops, Pascal wavered in the fulfillment of the contract; and by the order of Henry was imprisoned in the castle of Titerbo. By another compromise the right of investing with the ring and crosier was again conceded to the emperor, and he was crowned agreeably to the ancient custom, by the humbled pontiff.

The conduct of Pascal was subjected to the severest animadversions. The sanctity and infallibility of his character was forgotten amid the tumults which arose in the city. The most unmeasured abuses were bestowed upon his acts; and he was openly charged with pusillanimity and treachery to the Church. To quiet

the public clamor, and appease the general indignation, a council was convened in the Lateran in the year 1112. With an humble acknowledgment of his error, he passively submitted a decision of his controversy with Henry, to its judgment. "The council condemned his measures; declared them scandalous; and annulled all his proceedings." The consequences which resulted from the energetic conduct and language of this council were peculiarly embarrassing to the emperor. He was excommunicated, and declared a heretic. The German princes revolted; and dangers threatened him on every side. To subdue the faithless pontiff, he raised an army, and entered the city of Rome. His enemy fled to Benevento. But whilst he was engaged in organizing a force to repel the invading army of the empire, death closed his career.

The government of the Church had been placed for more than fifty years in the hands of monks; whose avarice, ambition, and obstinacy had urged them to most unjust and unreasonable exactions; and whose haughty and uncompromising temper, defeated every measure which might have led to a reconciliation between the parties on fair and equitable terms. The elevation of the archbishop of Vienna, Calixtus II., gave a new aspect to the events which had agitated the affairs of the empire and the Church. Although he maintained his claims with firmness; and called to his aid the military forces of the ecclesiastical state; he succeeded in effecting a compromise which terminated the dispute on the subject of investitures. At a general diet at Worms in 1122, it was agreed "That bishops and abbots shall be elected by monks and canons, in the presence of the emperor or his ambassadors, that all difficulties which may arise in an election shall be determined by the authority of the emperor, that the bishop and abbot elect shall take an oath of allegiance to the emperor, and receive from him the regalia, by the ceremony of the sceptre, and not of the ring and crossier; as more appropriate in the investiture of temporal rights."

This was an important change in the form of electing and installing bishops and abbots into their respective benefices. In the concordat, which was afterwards ratified and confirmed by an ecumenical council, (first of Lateran,) there was manifestly a mutual concession by both parties; but the issue was permanently to the advantage of the Church. The pontiffs thereafter yielded the ground which had been audaciously assumed by Urban II., in the last century, at the council of Clermont, "That no bishop or priest shall promise upon oath liege obedience to any king or any layman." The emperors on their part, conceded an ancient prerogative which enabled them to restrain the irregular and hasty consecration of the bishops. But peace was restored, and therefore that measure received the general approbation of the people and the clergy. The prominent feature in this new mode of electing bishops and abbots is, the exclusion of the laity and the great body of the clergy.

This had been from the earliest period the form of an election, both of these classes giving their suffrages. From the time of this concordat this election has been reposed in the chapters, or the body of canons and prebendaries; the head of whom is the dean. It should be observed, however, that this is not an uniform rule in all churches under the government of episcopacy. In many papal States, the king and clergy nominate; and their appointment is not valid until it is confirmed by the pope. In England, the power is vested in the king, it may be said, arbitrarily; as his recommendation of a suitable person to fill a vacancy in the diocese, is really an order directed to the dean and chapter to elect the individual proposed. In Prussia, Protestant bishops and sometimes archbishops, are directly appointed by the king.

An important change in the mode of electing the pontiff was also made in this century. The ecumenical council (third of Lateran,) in the year 1178, decreed that the right of election shall be vested in the cardinals alone; and that two-thirds of the votes of this electoral college shall be required to determine a choice. This was effected during the pontificate of Alexander III., and has continued with some subsequent modification, as in the thirteenth century by Gregory X., to govern in all elections to fill the vacancies which have occurred, excepting always, when it has been superseded and overruled by fraud or violence.

The lucrative traffic in indulgences, excited the avidity of all orders of the clergy; and the pontiff himself engaged in this commercial transaction. The head was not less corrupt than the members. This had become, even at this time, a source of unbounded wealth to the bishops. The monks were not permitted to dispose of these indulgences; and their means of acquiring wealth consisted in the exhibitions of the bones of departed saints. By such artifices the poor deluded papists were cheated and robbed of the profits of their honest industry; and the fruits of these scandalous impostures were appropriated to the gratification of sensual lusts. The riches thus acquired were squandered to support the extravagance of the clergy, and to minister to their licentious pleasures. The pontiffs, beholding with an avaricious eye the increasing wealth of the bishops from the sale of indulgences, in the plenitude of their power, wrested from them this invaluable privilege; and monopolized for themselves the profits of the trade. They not only remitted all penalties of a temporal nature; but granted to the purchaser a full pardon in a future state, for all the sins which may have been committed in this life. This power was derived from the commission given to the apostles by Christ "to bind and to loose," and by them transferred to the head of the Church as the apostolic successor. In the exercise of this power, the vicar of Christ may draw from that inexhaustible treasure of merit, which is made up of the works of supererogation of the saints, and assign

to whom he pleases, so much as may be necessary to secure their exemption from punishment here, and their eternal salvation hereafter. The saints, having performed more good works than were necessary for their own salvation, have provided a fund of merit, from which the Church may draw supplies, for those who are deficient in pious deeds of their own. Indeed, so exhaustless is this treasure, that, no matter what might be the enormity of the crime, or the numbers of the penitent purchasers, the means of their redemption are always attainable from this source. Such was the doctrine of supererogation; and which is still an article of faith in the popish church.

The profane and idolatrous worship of the Virgin Mary and of the saints, was carried in this century, to the highest degree of extravagance and wickedness. The Church of Christ had not only "changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man; but it also changed the truth of God into a lie, by worshipping and serving the creature more than the creator." The worship of saints and images constitutes the chief service in the papal church. It has forsaken the pure religion of the Bible for the mythology of the pagans. It teaches that angels are to be worshipped.¹ Litanies and prayers are composed for this purpose. It directs its votaries; "to pray to them as their intercessors; to make confessions to them; to offer incense, and make vows to them; to venerate their images and relics;" that "by their help they may obtain benefits from God." It teaches, that "whatever gifts are bestowed upon us by Christ, we receive them by the mediation of Mary;" that "she is our sacred guide, advocate and champion." She is called "The Mother of grace, the Fountain of Mercy." That church also teaches, that "by the veneration of relics we obtain the help of the saints whom those relics relate to," &c., and that, prayers should be offered to the cross, "for increase of grace and for the remission of sins." This is the Church whose history we have traced; from the period, when the government, the doctrines, and the spiritual religion of the apostolic church, of which Jesus Christ himself was the chief corner-stone, became vitiated and corrupted by an ambitious hierarchy, and by the rites, ceremonies and doctrines, of a system of pagan worship. This is the Church whose history we have traced, under the title of the Church of Christ. A Church that has not now, and never had, a vestige of the worship of the true God; that is called the Church of Christ, and denies him to be the only mediator between God and man. The earliest traces of the papal church can be no where

¹The terms in the Romish catechism to express the kind of worship to be offered to angels, are "*venerari*," "*adorare*," "*colere*." Papists have drawn a distinction between the words *latraria* and *doulia*. The former is the worship they give to God, the latter, that to the saints. In the Scriptures it is written, *edouleusate*, ye worshipped those that were no gods, and *elatreusan*, they served the creature. The distinction, therefore, is not agreeable to Scripture.

found before the institution of diocesan episcopacy. That was the point of departure from the true Church of Christ. That was the corner-stone of a new edifice, which through successive centuries has been reared to its present imposing magnitude.

In the short and compendious symbol, which has very erroneously been imputed to the apostles,¹ the Christian professes to believe in "the communion of the saints." This doctrine was advanced by the ecclesiastical writers of the Romish church in the primitive ages, and became in the fourth century, an article of faith. This "communion of the saints," in a Scriptural sense, implies a fellowship, which spiritual believers have among themselves as members of Christ's Church, and with Christ, as members of his body. In this sense, all orthodox Christians must assent to its truth. When believers commune at the table of the Lord's Supper, they receive the bread and wine as symbols of the body and blood of Christ. This they also do in their construction of the Scripture phraseology, "this is my body, and this is my blood." The communicant who partakes of the sacrament from the hands of a Romish priest, tacitly assents to the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. So the believer who professes his faith in the "communion of saints," as contained in a creed or symbol of that church, equally assents to it in the sense which that church attaches to it. Agreeably to the doctrine maintained by that church, this communion consists "in a mutual communication between the saints in heaven and believers on earth. The former enjoying the pleasure of witnessing the piety of the latter, and of contributing to their salvation; the believers on their part, are benefitted by the saints in heaven, who by their prayers procure for them help and grace from God, by which the great work of their salvation is secured."² This is the papal doctrine of "the apostles' creed," which was drawn up by the fathers of the Romish church, when the worship of the saints in heaven began to be received as an article of faith.

But as the church of Rome has founded its doctrines and its rites on the authority of the fathers, and not on the word of God, it is difficult to determine at what period of its history, the worship of saints and angels may be supposed to have become an article of its faith. Its origin has been referred to the fourth century. Irenæus, in the second century, applied the term *advocate* to the Virgin Mary;

¹For the first three centuries, the doctrines contained in this summary of faith, were severally maintained by the fathers. There is no evidence of those disjointed expressions of opinion having been condensed into a Formula, before the fourth century. In that century, the churches of Rome and those in the East, had creeds which differed essentially one from the other. In some of them, "Christ's descent into hell," and "the communion of the saints," were not inserted. The most reasonable conjecture is, that the doctrines contained in the form now existing, were successively advanced in different ages of the Church, and sometime in the fourth century, condensed, as we now have it.

²Catechism of the Romish church.

but this stands an isolated instance of the first three centuries. Cyprian, who flourished in the middle of the third century, complains of the corrupting tendency of the superstitious veneration for the martyrs. The early Christians abjured this worship, for it appears that they were accused of it by the pagans. Pliny, at the close of the first century, in a letter to Trajan, writes of the Christians as "meeting together before day, to sing a hymn to Christ as God." Epiphanius, in the fourth century, condemns the worship of the Virgin Mary, and concedes a veneration to her memory. Augustine, in the fifth century, says "Let not our religion consist in the worship of dead men; for if they were pious when alive, they would not desire such honor." The same father, in his confessions, thus expresses his feelings, "Whom shall I find to reconcile me to thee, O God? Shall I apply to an angel? With what prayer or sacrifices am I to address him?" &c., &c., and concludes, "the true Mediator, whom thy mercy hath sent to the humble, is the man Jesus Christ." In the eighth century, the doctrine was inculcated, that a confidence in the works and merits of the saints would secure salvation; but they had become the objects of worship as early as the fifth century. This is probably the earliest period, at which we may date the positive evidences of the existence of this superstitious practice. Origen, in the third century, taught, that "We ought to send up to God who is above all things, all our demands, prayers and requests, by the great High Priest, the living Word, and God, who is above all the angels."

The papists have not only substituted the worship of saints for that of God, but they have, under this strong delusion to believe a lie, perverted the Psalms of David, by inserting "our Lady," or "the Virgin," wherever the name "Jehovah" or "God" occurs; and this work of blasphemy against God, they have impiously entitled "the Psalter of the Virgin."

As we approach the close of this century, the arrogance of the pontiffs appears to transcend all bounds. Adrian IV., obliged the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, to perform the office of equerry, and to hold the stirrup of his holiness. But that prince was subjected to a more humiliating posture by Alexander III., the successor of Adrian. Whilst he was performing the menial ceremony of kissing the foot of this ghostly father, the haughty pontiff placed the other upon his neck, repeating the words of the Psalmist, "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet." Pope Celestine III., kicked the crown from the head of the emperor Henry VI., whilst he was doing homage on his knees. Thus did each pontiff rise above the pretensions of his predecessors. The acquisition of one power strengthened the usurpation of still higher prerogatives; and when Innocent III. ascended the chair of St. Peter, in the year 1198, the highest object of papal ambition appears to have been attained.

The ninth ecumenical or general council convened at the Lateran in the year 1123. The eighth had been held in Constantinople in 869. Two hundred and fifty-four years had intervened. The schism between the Eastern and Western churches was now complete. The Roman pontiffs appear to have abandoned all further attempts to extend their spiritual jurisdiction over the East. The Greek emperors were solicitous of a compromise from the declining state of the empire, but the unreasonable demands of the Romish church were rejected with disdain by the Eastern clergy; and all negotiations for a pacification terminated.

The controversy on the true nature of the elements, after consecration, in the eucharist, was still carried on with animation; but without any decision of this intricate question. Many of the most learned doctors of the age, sustained the views of Berenger. It is certain, however, that the Church had not yet determined, what should be received as the orthodox doctrine. The clergy and the laity were permitted to partake both of the bread and wine; and either, as symbols of the body and blood of Christ, or as having been converted, by consecration, into the body and divinity of the Savior. The infallible church had not yet definitively expressed itself on this point.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

The beginning of the twelfth century, is an important epoch in the history of the Reformation. Its progress has been traced through successive centuries from the year 251, to this period. We have witnessed the efforts of dissenters from the Church of Rome, to check its usurpations, to correct the errors of its doctrines, and to purify it, from the contamination of pagan superstition. These efforts were but partially successful. The papal hierarchy continued to advance onward in its career of universal dominion; and, at the same time, to descend deeper into the pollutions of vice.

When Novatian, in the middle of the third century, seceded from the jurisdiction of Cornelius, the Roman bishop raised the standard of reform, and organized a church after the simple model of the apostolic churches, the Roman see extended over a single province; and although it had already acquired a degree of pre-eminence over other provincial dioceses, it was not so much one of prerogative, as of honorable distinction, derived from the capital of the Roman empire which it embraced. The Christian churches had departed from the primitive form of government; and in consequence of this departure, abuses had crept in, and vitiated the purity of religious worship. The pagan government of Rome, inimical to Christianity, exerted its influence against its institutions; and therefore made no efforts to check this increasing evil. The bishops, notwithstanding the frequent and severe persecutions by the emperors, had become domineering, over the lower orders of the clergy; haughty

in their tone; ostentatious in their style of living; and luxurious in their habits. The forms of public worship were more calculated to captivate the fancy of the admiring multitude, than to promote vital religion and lead to vital piety. The contests for supremacy between the apostolic churches of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, had already disturbed the peace of the Christian communities. Men of Christian virtues, lamented this early exhibition of prelatical ambition, this early introduction of corruption and vice. But these evils sprang necessarily and unavoidably from the episcopal form of government, which had been substituted for the simple republican system instituted by the apostles, and were therefore incurable.

At this period, one man made a stand for virtue and for gospel truth. This was Novatian, a presbyter of the Roman church. The crisis had arrived; and Christians who deplored the decline of vital religion rallied under his standard, in the cause of Christ and his church. The reformation commenced, but under the mysterious providence of God, its progress was successfully opposed by the powers of darkness; and its consummation and triumph were delayed for a period of twelve hundred and sixty years.¹ The Novatians and their successors, the Paulicians, have been traced through a series of centuries; from their origin in the third, to their migration into Western Europe in the tenth and eleventh.

The Paulicians who settled in Albigeisium, or the southern provinces of France, and known in history as the Albigeois or Albigenses, are supposed to have removed from Italy. This transmigration must have taken place in the tenth century. Another colony passed over from Italy into the Netherlands; probably about the same time. History has recorded their persecution in their recent settlement as early as the year 1026. In the middle of the tenth century, Atto, bishop of Vercelli, (Sardinia) complains of them in his writings, as a refractory sect, and impatient under the government of the Romish church. There is indeed no authentic record of the exact time of their migration from Thrace and Bulgaria. They are alluded to by ecclesiastical writers who preceded the bishop of Vercelli. So early were they discovered along the tributaries of the Po, and having always maintained the religious doctrines which distinguished the inhabitants of the Piedmont valleys from the papists, they have been identified with the Vaudois. About

¹I shall mention here the remarkable coincidences between the events connected with the establishment and preservation of the Novatian church, and the vision of the apostle John related in the Apocalypse. The woman who fled into the wilderness, and remained there twelve hundred and sixty days, is emblematic of the Church which for that number of years abided in the mountains of the Alps and the Chalybian hills of Asia. At the expiration of that time, Lefevre, in France, Zwingle, in Switzerland, and Luther, in Germany, successively, but independently of each other, commenced the great work of the Reformation. They are prefigured by the three angels mentioned in the 14th chapter. The two witnesses of the 11th chapter, represent the Novatians or Paulicians and the Vaudois.

the close of the tenth century, their numbers were greatly increased; and in the following, or eleventh century, they inundated the Western States of Europe. In the year 1040, they were numerous in the city of Milan. In the thirteenth century, some of their churches in Italy contained from five to fifteen hundred members. They were called Paterini; and this points them out as the descendants of the Paulicians of Bulgaria and Thrace. A branch of those settled in France, passed over to England in the year 1160, to escape the pursuit of their popish persecutors. They were called in that country, *Pophlicians* and *Publicans*; a manifest corruption of their original name; but proving their identity.

That there may be no confusion in reference to these several religious denominations, I shall here recapitulate the prominent distinction which marks their difference. The Paulicians who settled in France, are known in history as Albigeois or Albigenses. Those who removed to Italy, were called Paterini; but from their intimate alliance, from identity of religious principles with the inhabitants of Piedmont, they were not distinguished from them in the popish persecutions, and were insensibly blended with them, as forming one denomination. Their name soon disappeared from the pages of ecclesiastical history. The Albigenses of France, and the Vaudois, Valdenses, or Waldenses of the Alps and the Piedmont valleys, were the distinctive appellations, which embraced those great branches of dissenters from the papal church.

No branch of the Christian Church has excited so much interest as that of the valley. Its antiquity has been the subject of historical investigation for more than three hundred years past. Its purity in doctrines and faith, has extorted the commendations of its enemies. "Those very persons," says Sismondi, "who punished the sectaries with frightful torments, have alone taken it upon themselves to make us acquainted with their opinions; allowing at the same time that they had been transmitted in Gaul¹ from generation to generation, almost from the origin of Christianity. We cannot be astonished if they have represented them to us, with all those characters, which might render them the most monstrous, mingled with all the fables which would serve to irritate the minds of the people against those who professed them. Nevertheless, amidst many puerile and calumnious tales, it is still easy to recognize the principles of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, among the heretics, who are designated by the name of Vaudois and Albigeois." Reinierius Saccho, who was an inquisitor, says, the "Waldenses flourished five hundred years before Peter Waldo." This carries us back to the exact time when the sect of the Paulicians was revived by Constantine Sylvanus, in the seventh century; and evi-

¹That part of Gaul which lies in Italy, was called Cisalpine Gaul, that on the opposite side of the Alps was called Transalpine Gaul; Cisalpine Gaul embraced the valleys of Piedmont.

dently points out an identity of doctrines between them. Crants, in his history of "The United Brethren,"¹ says "These ancient Christians, who, besides the several names of reproach given them, were at length denominated Waldenses, from one of their most eminent teachers, Peter Waldo,² date their origin from the beginning of the fourth century; when one Leo, at the great revolution in religion under Constantine the Great, opposed the innovations of Sylvester, bishop of Rome." Constantine made many important changes in the government of the empire. When he extended his protection to the Christian Church, after his professed conversion, he assumed the control of ecclesiastical affairs also. By his authority, the orders of the clergy were new modeled, to conform with the distinctions in the civil officers of the State. The four prefects were represented in the Church by the four patriarchs; who were, before the investment of this new dignity, provincial or metropolitan bishops. This still higher elevation of that ecclesiastical officer known in the apostolic church as the presbyter or elder, occasioned another secession from the Church. When Novatian withdrew from communion with the Church, that officer had reached the eminence of provincial bishop. There is no doubt that these seceders, impelled by one common motive, harmonized in their religious associations. This secession of Leo and his followers occurred about seventy years after Novatian had organized his church. When we compute the extent of time which intervened, between this period and the time when the historian wrote his account of the antiquity of the Waldenses, we may very easily suppose, that the dissenters in the beginning of the fourth century, might in fact have been the followers of Novatian. The Novatians are known through many successive centuries to have constantly resisted the encroachments of the Roman hierarchy, on the rights and religious privileges of the laity.

From other authorities we are informed that the Vaudois affirmed in support of their great antiquity, that "their doctrine and discipline had been preserved in all their purity and efficacy, from the days of the primitive martyrs in Spain, France, Germany, Italy, and especially in the valleys of Piedmont." This would again carry us back to the days of Novatian. The successive persecutions which commenced at the accession of Decius,³ in the year 249, were continued with occasional intermissions until the year 275.

¹ "The Waldenses," says Hallam, "of whom the very monkish historians speak well, appear to have nearly resembled the modern Moravians."

²This is not correct. The Vandois were called Valdenses, whence the term Waldenses, long before the existence of Peter Waldo. He adopted the tenets of the Vaudois, and assumed the Latin name of Valdus, from which comes Waldo. But this will be more fully explained hereafter.

³The persecution of the Christians in the reign of Decius, is the seventh general persecution recorded in history. The first commenced under Nero, in the year 64.

Under the reign of Valerian, an edict was published in the year 257. By this edict the Christians were cruelly put to death in all the provinces of the Roman empire. The object of this persecution seems to have been an entire extirpation of the Church. Reinerius Saccho, from whose writings I have already quoted, speaking of the Paterini and the inhabitants of the valleys, who were brought under the sentence of persecution pronounced against the dissenters from the church of Rome as Waldenses, says "Of all the sects which have been, or now exist, none is more injurious to the church (of Rome,) for three reasons: 1st. Because it is the most ancient. Some aver their existence from the time of Sylvester; others from the very time of the apostles. 2d. Because it is so universal. There is scarcely any country into which this sect has not crept. And 3d. Because all other heretics excite horror by the greatness of their blasphemies against God; but these have a great appearance of piety, as they live justly before men, believe rightly all things concerning God, and confess all the articles which are contained in the creed; only they hate and revile the church of Rome, and in their accusations, are easily believed by the people."

Here then, we have the most undoubted testimony of the great antiquity of a Christian Church, under the simple form of government received from the hands of the apostles, and maintaining the doctrines of the Scriptures; a church, traced back by historical records to the middle of the third century, separate and distinct through all ages from the corrupt hierarchy of Rome; and having undoubted claims to be regarded as the pure, uncorrupted and Apostolic Church of Christ.

One of the remarkable features of this church is the assiduous study of the Scriptures. This fact is established by the concurrent voices of all who have transmitted accounts of its discipline and doctrines from the remotest period of its antiquity. To this we must attribute the preservation of its institutions uncontaminated by the vices and corruptions of popery. The manuscript chronicle (referred to by Hallam,) discovered in the abbey of Corvey, written about the beginning of the twelfth century, describes the Vaudois, as descended from an ancient race. "They reject," says the chronicle, "the rites of the church (of Rome,) which they believe to be new; they refuse to worship images; despise the relics of saints; they represent as of little value our (the popish) religion, and the faith of all Christians of the Latin church; and they commit to memory the sacred Scriptures."¹ There are many other evidences of this admirable trait in the religious character of the Vaudois. "I have heard and seen," says Reinerius Saccho, "an unlearned rustic who recited the book of Job, word by word; and

¹Appellamus eos ideirco Manichæos. Horum quidam ab Hungaria ad eos convehenerunt." From which we learn who were Manichæans in the opinion of papists. The last sentence refers to Paulicians who had united with the Vaudois.

many who perfectly knew the New Testament." So conversant were they with these sacred writings, and so implicitly did they rely upon its infallible instructions, that, as Reinerius has also stated, "Whatever a doctor of the (Romish) church teaches, which he does not prove from the New Testament, they consider it as entirely fabulous," "which," adds the writer, "is contrary to the doctrine of the Romish church." They have been charged by some of their enemies with rejecting the Old Testament; but bishop Usher has proved that they received it as canonical Scripture. "They translated," as Reinerius has stated, "the Old and New Testament into the vulgar tongues, and spake and taught according to them." The Bible, as now received by all Protestant denominations, was their only rule of faith, they utterly rejected tradition and the authority of the fathers. Thus drawing their doctrines from the pure fountain of spiritual truth, and modeling their ecclesiastical institutions agreeably to the apostolic church, we cannot be surprised at the soundness, purity, and spirituality of their religious tenets, and the simplicity of their form of government.

A comprehensive summary of their faith may be thus briefly stated: "They rejected images, crosses, relics, legends, traditions, auricular confessions, indulgences, absolutions, clerical celibacy, orders, titles, tithes, vestments, monkery, masses, prayers for the dead, purgatory, invocation of saints and of the Virgin Mary, holy water, festivals, processions, pilgrimages, vigils, lent, pretended miracles, exorcisms, consecrations, confirmations, extreme unction, canonization, &c. They condemned the use of liturgies, especially in an unknown tongue. They condemned the mystical and allegorical interpretations of Scripture. They believed that there is one God, almighty, all-wise, and all-good; that Christ is our life, truth, peace, and righteousness, and our pastor, priest, and advocate, who died for the salvation of all who believe, and is risen for our justification; that he is the only mediator and advocate with God the Father, &c. They maintained, that to be the Church of Christ, which hears the pure doctrine of Christ, and observes the ordinances instituted by him, in whatever place it exists. They received but two sacraments, baptism and the supper of the Lord. Both the bread and the wine were administered in the latter, which they believed to be the visible emblems of invisible things. Their church officers were bishops, elders, and deacons. The only distinction, however, between the bishop and elders was, the former title was given to elders who were official pastors of the churches."¹ It seems not to be generally conceded that baptism was administered by immersion. Whether they were Pedobaptists, has been a controverted question; but it is very probable that they were not, until a late period. Milner states that there is no positive evidence of their having been opposed to infant baptism. Jones, on the oth-

¹Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge.

er side, affirms positively that they were. This question may be determined by either party, agreeably to their respective prejudices, without detracting from the character, which those noble depositaries of the truth have sustained, of pious Christians, and faithful worshippers of the spiritual cross of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The religion professed by the inhabitants of the valley, was particularly odious to popery. The church of Rome very early selected it as an object of bitter and relentless persecution. It was branded with every opprobrious epithet which could cast upon it reproach and ignominy. The Vaudois were called Manichæans and heretics; and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when by their writings and persecutions, the papists had succeeded in making that religion, or Vauderie as it was properly termed, a by-word and a reproach, that term was used to express whatever was sinful and ignominious. The crime of sorcery or witchcraft was called Vauderie, and a conviction of Vauderie was punished by the gibbet or the flames.

"They say," remarks a popish writer on the religious professions of the Vaudois, "that they alone observe the evangelic and apostolic doctrine; on which account, by an intolerable impudence, they usurp the name of the Catholic church. They declare themselves to be the apostles' successors, to have apostolical authority, and the keys of binding and loosing."

Having thus given a general outline of the history of the Albigenes and Waldenses to the commencement of the twelfth century; the progress of the reformation, from this period, will be resumed.

About the year 1110, Peter de Bruis preached the doctrines of the reformation in Languedoc and Provence. He opposed the worship of images and of the cross;¹ maintained that the elements in the eucharist were but symbols of Christ's body and blood; contended that the good works of the living could be of no benefit to the dead; that houses of worship acquired no peculiar sanctity by consecration; and that crucifixes, being mere objects of idolatry and superstition should be destroyed. He opposed the baptism of infants. He seems to have been carried by his religious fervor to the verge of fanaticism; if the representations of his popish enemies be correct. Although we should at all times receive those authorities with caution, and with many deductions on account of their habitual suggestions of falsehood, there is no doubt that Peter de Bruis propagated his doctrines with fearlessness and zeal. His laborious and indefatigable ministry was continued for twenty years. His followers were numerous. "He made the most laudable attempts," says Mosheim, "to reform the abuses, and to remove the

¹The papists admit that they give *Latria*, or the sovereign worship which is peculiar to God, to the cross. They pray to it, "to increase grace in the godly, and to blot out the sins of the guilty." They kiss it, and prostrate themselves before it.

superstitions that disfigured the beautiful simplicity of the gospel." His career was at length arrested by the spirit of anti-Christ. He was pursued by the Romish clergy, "whose traffic was in danger from the enterprising spirit of this reformer. His character was defamed, and his doctrines were stigmatized as Manichæan and heretical. The populace, urged on by the idolatrous priests, rose up against him; and in the year 1130, this pioneer in the reformation was seized and committed to the flames at St. Giles.

Peter de Bruis wrote a treatise on anti-Christ, in which he exposed the vices and corruptions of the papal church; showed, that as a system of iniquity, it is the anti-Christ mentioned in Scripture; and exhorted all Christians to separate themselves from it. "This is the congregation," he said, "which taken together, comprises what is called anti-Christ, Babylon, the fourth beast, the whore, the man of sin, the son of perdition. Its ministers are called false prophets, lying teachers, the ministers of darkness, the spirit of error, the apocalyptic whore, the mother of harlots, clouds without water, trees without leaves, twice dead, plucked up by the roots, wandering stars, Balaamites, and Egyptians. It is anti-Christ; because, being disguised under the name of Christ, it opposes the salvation which Christ wrought out; it opposes the truth, by false religion, by counterfeit holiness, by ecclesiastical power, by secular tyranny; it transfers to images, carcasses, and relics, the worship that belongs alone to God; it robs the Savior of his merits, and the sufficiency of his grace in justification, regeneration, remission of sins, sanctification, establishment in the faith, and spiritual nourishment, ascribing all these to its own authority, to a form of words, to its own works, to the intercession of saints, and to the fire of purgatory; it places all religion and holiness in going to mass; it has mingled together all descriptions of ceremonies, Jewish, Heathen, and Christian; it allows of open sins without ecclesiastical censure, and even the impenitent are not excommunicated; it hates, and persecutes, and searches after, and plunders, and destroys the members of Christ." Such are the characteristics of a church, which clearly point it out as the apocalyptic woman, whom John in a vision saw, sitting upon a scarlet colored beast; who was arrayed in purple and scarlet color, and decked with gold and precious stones, and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication; upon whose forehead a name was written, "*Mystery*," "*Babylon the Great, the Mother of harlots*," and "*Abominations of the earth*;" and who was drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.¹ "This is the church," says de Bruis, "which covers its iniquity, by pleading, the length of its duration, or succession of time, and the multitudes of its followers, the spiritual authority of the apostles, and its miracles, and signs, and lying

¹Revelations, chap. xvii.

wonders. This is that anti-Christ, which covers his lying wickedness, as with a cloak, or garment, that he may not be rejected as a pagan or infidel; and under which disguise he can go on practicing his villainies boldly, and like a harlot."

Such was the language, and the spirit of a reformer and martyr of the twelfth century; or, four hundred years before the days of Lefevre, Zwingli, and Luther. His ministerial labors were in the southern provinces of France, and there he suffered martyrdom. Here the Paulicians were most deeply implanted; and here the Albigenses, as the Paulicians were called, were populous and flourishing. He is notwithstanding, mentioned in subsequent histories as one of the most distinguished preachers of the Waldensian doctrines; that sect indeed, claimed him as one of their barbs; and from this circumstance we may infer that the religious opinions of those two great branches of the Christian Church were identical. After this period, their histories are blended together by many writers who have transmitted to us, the accounts of their persecutions and sufferings. The followers of Peter de Brui first assumed the name of Petrobrussians; but they were soon united, in name, and in the fortunes of the Waldenses and Albigenses.

In the bosom of the Romish church, and in the year of the martyrdom of Peter de Brui, appeared another reformer, but of a more formidable character than that humble and pious preacher of the gospel. This was Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of Abelard and Berengarius. He was a man of extensive learning, of a commanding eloquence, and of a bold and enterprising spirit.

The peace and order of the city of Rome were disturbed in the beginning of this century, by a party, whose object was a thorough reformation in the state as well as in the Church. From the oppressions of the papal power, the inhabitants of Italy, but more particularly the citizens of the capital, had become impatient, and at length seditious. They were spectators of the follies and the vices of the pontiffs, and were therefore, unrestrained by that superstitious awe and veneration which by foreigners, were attached to the character and person of the spiritual and temporal head of the Church. This dissatisfaction was frequently exhibited by tumultuous assemblies, by riots, and by the violence of armed parties, who assaulted the palace, and sometimes the persons of the popes. The religious processions of the clergy were interrupted by hostile threats, and dispersed by darts and stones. Paschal II., whilst officiating at the altar, was compelled to throw off his pontificals, and to escape the danger which threatened him by a hasty and an ignominious flight. His successor, Gelasius II., shared a more imminent and a more disgraceful fate, soon after his elevation to the papal chair. A baron, followed by the armed multitude, forcibly entered the church in which the pope and his cardinals were assembled; seized the holy father by the throat, drew him

out by the hair of his head, and after beating him with his fists, and severely bruising him with his heels, secured him in his own house with an iron chain. Not many days after his release, he was again attacked by an armed force. During the conflict, the ghostly father succeeded in making his escape; and flying from the scene of danger in his sacerdotal robes, secreted himself behind the church of St. Peter. "I say it before God and the Church, I would rather have one emperor than so many masters," was the humble confession of the terrified Gelasius. Lucius II. whilst storming the capitol which his enemies had forcibly seized, was struck by a stone, and died soon after. Lucius III., who succeeded the ambitious and haughty Alexander, was endangered by the ungovernable spirit which actuated the populace; and insulted by the cruelties inflicted by them upon his Servants. In a civil commotion, says Gibbon, several of his Priests, had been made prisoners; and the inhuman Romans, reserving one as a guide for his brethren, put out their eyes, crowned them with ludicrous mitres, mounted them on asses with their faces to the tail, and extorted an oath, that, in this wretched condition, they should offer themselves as a lesson to the head of the church. The same writer remarks, that Rome continually presented the aspect of war and discord; the Churches and Palaces were fortified and assaulted by the factions and families. Such was the state of the Papal city throughout this century. These facts will explain the circumstances connected with the efforts of Arnold, to redress the grievances of the people, under the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, by which they were oppressed.

To restore the Roman Senate to its ancient dignity and power, the wealth and the prerogatives of the clergy, must be reduced. To give stability and glory to one, the overshadowing and controlling power of the papal throne must be brought within a narrower compass, in the other; and thus an equipoise between the civil and ecclesiastical governments would be permanently secured. In other words, such a revolution in church and state was contemplated, as should restrict the former to a jurisdiction over spiritual matters only, and restore to the other the civil rights which had been wrested from it by the usurpations of the pontiffs. Each would move in its appropriate sphere. This was striking at the root of the evil; and the corruptions prevailing in both would have been cut off from their sources. The whole structure of popery must have crumbled to the ground. Such seems to have been the ultimate design of Arnold. He quoted the declaration of Christ, "My kingdom is not of this world." The sword and the sceptre, he said, were the insignia of temporal princes; the clergy, from the abbot to the pope, must renounce their state or their salvation. They must devote themselves to their spiritual labors.

An ecumenical council (2d of Lateran) in the year 1139, condemned Arnold, and he retired to Zurich. There he preached with success, his religious opinions; and planted the seeds of reformation, which sprung up in a congenial soil, and showed the fruits of his labors long after. The bishop of Constance, and even the legate of Innocent II. were seduced by the powers of his eloquence, and yielded to his persuasions. In 1143 he returned to Rome, and raised the standard of reform at the gates of the Vatican. Through his influence the government of the city was remodelled; the populace sustained his efforts, and the clergy were humbled by the strength of his adherents. For twelve years he controlled the popular feeling; and defied the authority of the popes, who either resided in retirement within the walls of their palaces, or retired as voluntary exiles into the cities of Italy. On the accession of Adrian, the spiritual arm which had been paralyzed was again raised with its wonted vigor, in defense of the patrimony of St. Peter. Rome was placed under an interdict, and all its religious privileges were withdrawn. The churches were closed, public service was suspended, and the gates of heaven were shut. The expulsion of Arnold restored the city to the divine favor, and Adrian triumphed over his enemy. The reformer fled to Campania. Frederick Barbarossa who courted the smiles of the pope, delivered him into the hands of the Roman præfect. He was condemned as a heretic; was first crucified, and burnt. His ashes were collected and thrown into the Tiber, that his relics might not be worshipped by his adherents. Adrian accomplished by an interdict, what his predecessors could not effect by all the forces of the ecclesiastical state. Thus perished this bold reformer, in the year 1155.

Whilst those events were transpiring in Rome, a monk and hermit from Switzerland, leaving his cell at the foot of the Jura Mountains, traveled through the middle provinces of France, propagating the doctrines of the Reformation, and preaching against the superstition of the times. From Poitou he passed into Guienne, and from that province he went to Languedoc. He preached against the baptism of infants; censured the profligacy and the licentious practices of the clergy; rejected the festivals observed by the Church; and condemned its rites and ceremonies. He carried with him a cross, which attracted the populace, and drew to him numerous hearers wherever he went. In the year 1148 he was seized, and by the order of Pope Eugenius, who was then attending a council at Rheims, he was committed to prison, where he soon after died. His followers were called Henricians. He is supposed to have been a disciple of Peter de Bruis, and to have preached his doctrines. It should be observed, however, that the latter so abhorred all images, that none escaped his violence which he touched. Henry bore a cross throughout his pilgrimage; but not as an object of worship. This was a marked difference be-

tween them. It is not certainly known what his doctrines were, but his imprisonment by the pope is an evidence of their spirituality.

Piedmont is now the principal province of the continental states of the king of Sardinia. It was formerly a principality of the ancient kingdom of the Lombards. It was afterwards under the government of the dukes of Savoy. Turin is its capital, and is situated on the western bank of the Po, at the foot of a range of beautiful hills. This province is about 150 miles in length, and 100 of medial breadth. It enjoys a mild and pure air, and distinguished fertility of soil. The valleys extend along the eastern foot of the Cottian Alps; hence the derivation of its name. These form the highest range of mountains in Europe, and divide Italy from France. The mountains of the Alps form a crescent, from the Mediterranean, northwardly to Switzerland, which they separate from Piedmont; and thence eastwardly between that province and Germany. The Appennines extend from the southernmost point of the Alps, along the coast of the Mediterranean eastward, to the territories of Parma and Modena, and thence traverse Italy in its whole length from north to south. Piedmont is thus bordered on three sides by these lofty ranges of mountains. The tributaries of the Po, arise at various points from the foot of these mountains throughout their extent, and by innumerable ramifications irrigate every portion of the numerous valleys within the province. From Mount Cenis to Mount St. Bernard, between Piedmont and Savoy, and thence to Mount St. Gothard, between Switzerland and Piedmont, the range of the Alps is of a prodigious height, particularly the point known as Mons Rosa.

The principle valleys are, Aosta and Susa, on the north; Stura, on the south; and in the interior, Lucerna, Angrogna, Rocciapiatta, Pramol, Perosa, and San Martino. These names designate the communes into which Piedmont was divided. Angrogna is surrounded by lofty mountains, in many places inaccessible, and was the last retreat of the persecuted Waldenses. The sides of the mountains surrounding the valley of Peagela are pierced by innumerable caverns. Into these, that persecuted sect retreated, and were concealed from their popish murderers. In Mount Vaudelin was a natural cave sufficiently capacious for the shelter of three or four hundred persons; and was peculiarly adapted to the concealment of those unhappy refugees. So much of the geographical description of Piedmont will be sufficiently explanatory of the country inhabited by the Vaudois.

Albigesium, or Gallia Narbonensis, embraced the provinces in France, afterward known as Languedoc, Provence, Dauphine and Savoy. They extended from the Pyrenean Mountains, which separated Languedoc from Spain, along the Mediterranean to the Alps. In Languedoc the range of the Sevens begins and runs northeast-

wardly into the ancient division known as Gallia Lugdunensis.—This latter division embraced the provinces of Lyonois, Touraine, Franche-Comte, Sivenois,¹ &c.

In Albigesium, or as it has been termed, the country of the Albigeois, the Paulicians were numerously settled. In the city of Lyon on the river Rhone, the reformer John of Lyons, or who is better known as Peter Waldo, began to preach his doctrines about the year 1170. This being within what was called Gallia-Lugdunensis, his followers were thence denominated *Pauperes de Lugduno*. Their founder, however, having assumed the name of Waldo, as shall be explained hereafter, they were distinguished as “Waldenses, sive *Pauperes de Lugduno*,” as equivalent terms in the acts of the inquisition. They were also called in some places, “The Sect of Weavers,” from the circumstance of their obtaining their livelihood by weaving.

The Albigenes therefore, as well as the disciples of Waldo, were French; the Vaudois, or Waldenses proper, were inhabitants of Italy. Before the severe persecutions commenced in the latter part of this century, the two former had extended over the provinces of Guienne, Saintonge, Poitou, Nivernois, Berry, Burgundy, and indeed through all the middle and southern provinces of France.

“It was in the country of the Albigeois,” says Gibbon, “that the Paulicians were most deeply implanted; and the same vicissitudes of martyrdom and revenge which had been displayed in the neighborhood of the Euphrates, were repeated in the thirteenth century on the banks of the Rhone.² The laws of the Eastern emperors were revived by Frederick II. The Insurgents of Tephric, (Tibrica,) were represented by the barons and cities of Languedoc; Pope Innocent III. surpassed the sanguinary fame of Theodora. It was in cruelty alone, that her soldiers could equal the heroes of the crusades, and the cruelty of her priests was far excelled by the founders of the inquisition; an office more adapted to confirm, than to refute the belief of an evil principle. The visible assemblies of the Paulicians, or Albigeois, were extirpated by fire and sword; and the bleeding remnant escaped by flight, concealment, or Catholic (popish) conformity. But the invincible spirit which they had kindled still lived and breathed in the western world. In the state, in the church, and even in the cloister, a latent succession was preserved of the disciples of St. Paul; who protested against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the Bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the visions of the Gnostic theology.”

In Toulouse, then the capital of Languedoc, a council condemned the doctrine of the Albigenes in the year 1119, and they were

¹It will be recollected that these are not now the civil divisions of France.

²The river Rhone, whose tributaries spring from the Jura and the Vosges Mountains, runs through the provinces of Burgundy and Lyonois, and separates the Se-vennes from Dauphine, and Languedoc from Provence.

again condemned by the ecumenical council (2d of Lateran,) which condemned Arnold of Brescia in 1139. Those who fled from these persecutions and passed over to England in the year 1160, met with no better fate. They were arraigned before a council at Oxford, and when it was ascertained that they rejected the belief in purgatory, offering up prayers for the dead, and the invocation of saints, they were branded with a red hot iron on the forehead, were whipped through the streets of Oxford, deprived of their clothing, and driven into the open fields. All persons were prohibited from affording them shelter and relief under the severest penalties. This sentence was rigorously executed; and all of them perished from exposure to the cold, and from the want of sustenance. Their leader, Gerrard, professed to believe the doctrines of the apostles, and his "replies," says the historian, Rapin, to questions in relation to their religious creed, "were orthodox as to the trinity and incarnation." "They showed a deal of modesty and meekness in their whole behavior. When they were threatened with death, in order to oblige them to renounce their tenets, they only said, "Blessed are they that suffer for righteousness' sake." Such was the fate of those persecuted sectaries. They were driven out of one kingdom, to suffer in another, imprisonment, cruel tortures, starvation, and death.

About this time, or a little after, appeared in France the celebrated John of Lyons.¹ He was a wealthy merchant of that city. He became a convert to the reform doctrines, from a remarkable visitation of divine Providence. Having renounced the pursuit after the riches and emoluments of the world, he devoted himself to the study of the Holy Scriptures, which he translated into the vernacular of his country. He instructed his own family, and all others who were disposed to listen to his exhortations. The opposition of the popish clergy stimulated his exertions, and gave increased animation to his zeal. He at length became the object of persecution; and his followers, who were numerous and firm in their attachment to their faith, shared the fate of their spiritual teacher. They were dispersed over France, Italy, Germany, England, and Spain. This distinguished leader assumed the title of Peter Val-
dus; the former, probably as an apostolic name, agreeably to the ancient custom of the Paulicians; the latter, from having adopted the doctrines of the Vaudois or Waldenses of Piedmont. From this Latin word Valdus, he has been called by English writers, Waldo; by which he is now universally known. His followers are also distinguished in history, as Valdenses or the disciples of Valdus, and as Waldenses; and have been thus blended with the ancient sectaries who inhabited the valleys of Piedmont. They are to be distinguished from the Waldenses of those valleys, from this circumstance, of their more modern origin. In every other respect

¹Mosheim's Ec. Hist. 12th cent. Note by Maclaine.

there is a perfect identity between them ; and this tributary, flowing as it were, into the great central current, has been ever since united with it in character and name. The Petrobrusians, the Arnoldists, and the Henricians, have in the same manner, been blended with one or the other of these two great branches of the ancient reformed church.

It does not appear that Peter Waldo had ever visited the valleys of Piedmont. Under the anathema of the Romish church, he first retired from his native city, into Dauphine. The curses of the pope, Alexander III., pursued him in his retirement, and from that province he fled to Picardy, where his doctrines were successfully propagated. It was from that extreme north-section of France, that the first rays of spiritual light dawned upon the great reformation of the sixteenth century ; when in 1511, Lefevre of Etaples, boldly began the revival of the holy religion of Jesus Christ. At the close of the twelfth century, Waldo unfolded to that benighted region of Christendom, the truths of the gospel ; and God in his providence had thus prepared the way, by his persecuted servant, for the reception of those life-giving sounds, which, “ with a loud voice, proclaimed to them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, ‘ to fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come : and to worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of the waters.’ ”¹

Driven from Picardy, Waldo fled to Germany, carrying with him the glad tidings of salvation. In the year 1184, he went to Bohemia, where he died, after a perilous and laborious ministry of twenty years.

It may not be irrelevant to mention here, in confirmation of what has been already said, in reference to the true derivation of the title, by which the inhabitants of the valleys have been distinguished, that in the confession of their faith which was brought to light by Pictetus, and which is dated in the year 1120, they are mentioned as the Vaudois.²

About this time the popish persecution of the Church which was in the wilderness, began to be relentless and unremitted. Thirty-five citizens of Mentz, were burned in one Auto da Fe, in the city of Bingen, and eighteen in Mentz. These cities are on the right bank of the Rhine. But the bishops on the left, were less active in the enforcement of the bloody decrees of the pope. In Strasburg, in the province of Alsace, eighty heretics were committed to

¹Lefevre of Etaples, who first preached in the 16th century, the scriptural doctrine of justification by faith, is evidently prefigured by the angel represented in the Revelation xiv. 6, as having the everlasting gospel, &c.

²That confession of faith declares, that “ Christ is our life, truth, peace, and righteousness ; also our pastor, advocate, sacrifice, and priest, who died for the salvation of all those that believe, and is risen again for our justification.” Acts viii.

the flames. In 1198, Innocent III. ascended the chair of St. Peter. In the same year, many of the pastors of the churches which professed the doctrines of the Waldenses and Albigenses were burned in the province of Nivernois. But the acts of this brutal monster belong to the history of the thirteenth century. His edicts required the bishops, and all having spiritual authority, to commit to the flames, to disperse, and to confiscate the property of the recusant heretics wherever found, "who would not worship the image of the beast."

CHAPTER IX.

THE advance to power and opulence by the popish church, through successive ages; amid the vicissitudes of political events, and the revolutions of empires, seems not to have been retarded by those causes which usually impede the progress of temporal usurpations. The sacredness of character attached to a successor of St. Peter, was not diminished in the public sentiment by the vices of the actual occupant of the chair. Crimes of the most diabolical character, for which the perpetrator would have been hurled from the loftiest throne in Christendom, were either overlooked or connived at, when committed by the head of the church. This is a phenomenon in the moral history of man. Here is a power that increased in strength, as it became more corrupt. Changing its features from age to age. But as those features became more hideous and appalling, "all men, whose names are not written in the book of life, worshipped it, saying, who is like unto the beast?"

The knowledge of the sciences has advanced; errors in philosophy have been detected and renounced; governments have been new modeled upon principles of justice; as the human understanding became more enlightened, and the natural as well as the conventional rights of man, have been more clearly defined and comprehended. But, with the sure light of revelation to lead us into the way of all truth, religious error still retains its dominion over the human mind; and superstition still holds it in captivity to a most tyrannical and oppressive hierarchy. Popery, the most amazing and the most stupendous work of the spirits of darkness, controls the mind, in defiance of the operations of its highest and noblest faculties. Here the progress of man in moral and intellectual improvement, has been arrested by an influence, whose extent we cannot measure, whose duration we dare not conjecture.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, the papal power had arrived at the highest point of its elevation. Kings and princes were obsequious to its authority. "There was given to it a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies. It was given unto it to make war with the saints, and to overcome them;" and its empire extended over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations. It caused all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads." Rev. chap. xiii.

"The popes," says Mosheim, "inculcated that pernicious maxim, That the bishop of Rome is the supreme lord of the universe, and neither princes nor bishops, civil governors, nor ecclesiastical rulers, have any lawful power in church or state, but what they derive from him." It is true that this high pretension was not universally conceded. An energetic prince on the throne, would sometimes dare to contest it, by the military strength of the empire, and perhaps with partial success. But a conflict with the supreme head of the church, called for the most cautious exercise of temporal power; and could not be maintained without the utmost prudence and circumspection. His defeat seldom secured to the victor the prize of conquest; and never, an exemption from future encroachments.

The plan of preserving the peace of Europe, by a judicial tribunal with appellate jurisdiction; which the ambitious Gregory had contemplated in the eleventh century, and which, composed of bishops under the control of the pontiffs, would decide all controversies arising between kingdoms and sovereign states, was again proposed in the beginning of this century, by the servile minions of the pope. It is certain however, that Innocent III., without the formal institution of such an ecclesiastical body, exercised all the prerogatives of a general pacificator; if the arbitrary disposal of crowns and sceptres can be viewed as measures of pacification. Innocent possessed the ambition and the courage of Gregory; but he excelled him in learning, and in the refined arts of diplomacy. His views of universal dominion were not less extensive; indeed they embraced a much wider scope. He disposed of thrones not only in Europe, but in Asia. He gave a king to the Armenians; and placed the royal crown upon a duke of Bohemia. He converted temporal kingdoms into spiritual fiefs; and thus changed a lay into an ecclesiastical tenure. He conferred the military order of knighthood on Philip II. of Aragon, and placed the crown upon his head, on the condition of his perpetual fealty and obedience to the see of Rome. He invested the duke of Bulgaria with the ensigns of royalty. He held the doubtful scales between two competitors for the imperial throne; first thundering his excommunication against one, and then, conferring the imperial title upon the other; afterward declared him unworthy of the crown, and proclaimed a third the rightful sovereign. A king of Leon married his

cousin; Innocent, by a papal bull excommunicated him, and placed his kingdom under an interdict. Philip Augustus, of France, repudiated his wife, and married a second. A papal interdict was enforced over the whole kingdom. The dead remained unburied, the doors of the churches were closed, and all religious rites ceased. The anathemas from the chair of St. Peter pursued the unhappy monarch, until he restored the divorced queen to the throne. The pope's legate was arrested by the king of Hungary; Innocent threatened to cut off the succession from his family, and the legate was released. But of all the monarchs who felt the power of this Roman pontiff, John of England stands in history a monument of pusillanimity and of servile submission to the authority of spiritual domination. "He did homage to Innocent, resigned his crown to his legate, and received it again, as a present from the see of Rome, to which he rendered his kingdoms tributary, and swore fealty as a vassal and feudatory; and obliged himself and his heirs to pay an annual sum of seven hundred marks for England, and three hundred for Ireland, in acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy and jurisdiction." "As the sun and the moon are placed in the firmament," said Innocent, "the greater as the light of the day and the lesser of the night; thus are there two powers in the Church; the pontifical, which, as having the charge of souls, is the greater; and the royal, which is the less, and to which the bodies of men only are intrusted." It is expressly declared in the canon law, which is founded on the legislative authority of the popes, that "Subjects owe no allegiance to an excommunicated lord, if after admonition, he is not reconciled to the church." Such were the assumptions, and usurpations of temporal power which marked the character of Innocent. It was to this eminence that the successive pontiffs for the preceding ten hundred years had been laboring to ascend. They arrived in the beginning of this century at their highest point of culmination; and continued in the meridian of their spiritual dignities and temporal exaltation, until the removal of their residence to Avignon in France, in the year 1309. From this latter period there was a manifest declension of their authority. It is to this, the thirteenth century, that we should look for a correct exhibition of the character of popery. It had obtained an almost undisputed pre-eminence over the dominions of the earth. It was then, that the mystical Babylon, "the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth, glorified herself, and lived deliciously; and said in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow."

The immediate successors of Innocent, who were distinguished by the several titles of Honorius III., Gregory IX., and Innocent IV., were engaged in a controversy with the emperor Frederick II., the grandson of Frederick Barbarossa. The first of these pontiffs was less aspiring in his views than his predecessor, but not less

tenacious of his papal rights. Frederick was a prince endowed with many of the noble virtues of his ancestor, and designed not only the establishment of the imperial authority in Italy, on a firm basis, but also the diminution of the wealth and power of the popes and higher order of ecclesiastics. The efforts to attain these objects were peculiarly obnoxious to the pontiffs, and were resisted by them with firmness and spirit. Gregory, who assumed the pontificate whilst this controversy was still unsettled, taking advantage of Frederick's absence from his dominions, invaded his territories, and endeavored to excite against him all the princes of Europe. The emperor, informed of the perfidy of the pope, hastily returned from Palestine, whither he had gone in a crusade against the infidels, regained his lost possessions; and having by a superior force discomfited his adversary, effected a compromise; and received from him an absolution, for the offense of resisting his ghostly father. But Gregory, although defeated, was not humbled; and his subsequent aggressive measures urged the emperor to renewed acts of hostility. This brought down upon him the most deafening thunders of the Vatican. He was accused of the most flagitious crimes, of impious blasphemies, and the vilest imputations were attached to him, which the imbittered malice of his enemy could invent.¹ These charges against his character were formally presented to all the courts of Europe. This contest was renewed, or rather continued by Innocent IV., who solemnly deposed Frederick, and declared the imperial throne vacant. In consequence of this sentence the princes of the empire elected a successor, William, count of Holland. William II., married a daughter of the duke of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, and was therefore the representative of the Guelfs. Frederick, who was of the house of Suabia, belonged to the Ghibelins. The origin of these parties has been mentioned in the history of the twelfth century. From the election of William, ancient hostilities were revived between those parties. They had been renewed, however, in the beginning of this century, in the dissensions which then arose in Lombardy. The death of Frederick at this juncture, in the year 1250, gave a temporary triumph to the Guelfs, and a permanent advantage to the pontiffs.

In the year 1268, the cardinals were divided into two factions, in the election of a successor to Clement IV. This contention continued for three years; and the Roman see was vacant throughout that period. In 1271, Thibald, arch-bishop of Liege, was elected; and assumed the title of Gregory X. Although whilst arch-bishop, he was a prelate of a mild disposition and of moderate pretensions;

¹A modern writer has remarked, that "the rancor of the bigoted papists against Frederick, has hardly subsided at the present day. It is well known that, although the public policy of Rome has long displayed the pacific temper of weakness, the thermometer of ecclesiastical sentiment in that city, stands very nearly as high as in the thirteenth century." Hallam.

as pope, he strenuously maintained the principles of his predecessors, Gregory VII. and Innocent III. He declared the bishop of Rome, the lord of the world; and applied them practically in a mandate which he directed to the princes of Germany, requiring them to proceed in the election of an emperor, with a threat of making a nomination by his spiritual authority. Alphonso, king of Castile, had been elevated to the imperial throne, but was engaged in a war against the Moors in Spain, and was therefore the rightful sovereign. Gregory, however, disregarded his just claims to the crown, urged the diet to proceed to the choice of another; and Rodolphus, count of Hapsburg, was elected.

Martin IV., the successor of Nicholas III., and as arbitrary in his measures, ambitious and overbearing in his conduct, as that arrogant prelate had been, commenced his reign in the year 1281. One of his first acts, was to excommunicate Michael Palæologus, the Greek emperor. The king of Arragon, incurred his displeasure, and was excommunicated from the church and deposed. His vacant throne was given to the son of Philip, the bold king of France. These were some of the audacious measures of a reign which expired in the fourth year from its commencement.

After the death of Nicholas IV., in 1292, the Roman see remained three years without a successor to the chair of St. Peter, in consequence of the distractions in the counsels of the cardinals. The elevation of a recluse to the pontificate proved unacceptable to the clergy generally, and was disapproved of, soon after the election by the cardinals themselves. He was a man, austere in his character, rigid in the enforcement of the moral precepts, and strenuously opposed the licentious practices of the Roman court. His strict virtues rendered his administration unpopular; and this good and pious pontiff was forced by the concurrent voices of the several orders of the clergy, to resign a station unworthy of his purity of moral and undissembled sanctity. Benedict Cajetan, who had persuaded this good and virtuous old man to relinquish his seat, was elected his successor; and assumed the title of Boniface VIII. With a view of securing the quiet possession of the throne, he seized the ex-pontiff and confined him in the castle of Fumone, where he remained incarcerated for the remainder of his life. The vices of Boniface qualified him for an office, which had been filled by a succession of monsters in human shape unparalleled in the history of ancient or modern times. His administration although short is replete with events, and occupies an important page in the annals of popery.

An important change was made in the pontificate of Gregory X. by the fourteenth ecumenical council (2d of Lyons,) in the year 1274, in the forms of electing a successor to the papal chair.

For a period of nine hundred years, or from the middle of the third century to the pontificate of Alexander III., in the twelfth, the

elections of the bishops of Rome were conducted amid tumults and disorders; and were determined by the issue of contending factions; and these conflicts were not unfrequently accompanied with civil wars and bloodshed. By a law of Nicholas II., about the year 1060, the cardinals were empowered first to make the selection of a candidate; and a reference of their choice was then made to the other clergy and to the people, and was not valid without their sanction. Previous to this, the election of a pontiff was entirely a popular one. Alexander III., in the next or twelfth century, restricted the electoral college to the cardinals alone. This, however, did not remove the evils of discord and faction. In this, or the thirteenth century, two interregnums occurred, one after the death of Clement IV. and another after the death of Nicholas IV., each of three years duration. In 1274, the decree of a general council, which has ever since been embodied in the code of the canon law, provided that, on the tenth day after the decease of a pope, each cardinal shall be imprisoned in conclave. Once each successive day they shall meet in the chapel of the Vatican, and give in their votes. This is continued from day to day until two-thirds of the votes are found to be in favor of one candidate. The elections were frequently vitiated after the adoption of these severe regulations, as occurred in the year 1314, when the French and Italian factions divided the college into two parties. This contest continued two years before a choice was made. John XXII., who was eventually elected, was in 1328, deposed by the emperor Lewis, of Bavaria; and his choice of a successor was ratified by the acclamations of the Roman people.

It has been seen in the progress of this history, and examples will be sufficiently abundant hereafter, that few of the successors of St. Peter, have been elected by any established form. For many centuries, vacancies in the see were filled by the authority of the Roman and German emperors; and throughout the first fourteen centuries, force or fraud, violence, bloodshed or intrigue, have determined who shall be in the line of legitimate succession.

The ecclesiastical canons, on which is founded the jurisprudence of the papal church, consists of the decrees of councils, from the reign of Constantine the Great, and of the rescripts or decretal epistles of the popes. The fundamental principle upon which this code of laws is founded, is the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal power. This doctrine pervades the whole system. "The constitutions of princes are not above those of the Church, but are subservient to them." "Vassals owe no allegiance to an excommunicated lord." "The pope may depose an emperor for lawful causes." Such are the maxims of that church, which have governed its course of policy in all its temporal relations, from the remotest period of its usurpations. The laws and ordinances of the ecclesiastical councils, have been collected and condensed for con-

venient reference, by individual authors as early as the twelfth century; and subsequently under the authority of the pontiffs. The most ancient collection of the canons and rescripts, was made by Gratian, an Italian monk, in the year 1140. The bishop of Chartres, twenty-six years before, had published a compilation, entitled "*The Decrees*," which formed the ground-work of the labor of those who succeeded him. In the pontificate of Gregory IX., Raimund Barcinus, collected "*The Decretals*" into five books, embracing the rescripts of Alexander III., Innocent III., Honorius III. and of Gregory himself. This volume was introduced into the theological schools and the universities; and was received as of the highest authority in the ecclesiastical courts. A sixth part was added about the close of this century by Boniface VIII., which is entitled the "*Sext*," and forms a supplement to the work of Barcinus. The constitutions published by Clement V., known as the "*Clementines*;" and those by John XXII., entitled "*Extravagantes Joannis*," with subsequent promulgations by other pontiffs who succeeded him, are also received into the code of canon laws. The "*Extravagantes Communes*," or the constitutions of John and his successors, are so called from the circumstance of their having been issued as the occasion demanded; and not being at first included in the "*Corpus Juris Canonici*," they were considered as *extra vagantes*, or wanderers, without the code; and hence the title which was attached to them. The "*Directorium Inquisitorum*," embraces the papal bulls on the subject of the inquisition, and commentaries on the body of the canon laws and the extravagants.

The infallible church had not before this century, determined the true nature of the elements (the bread and wine) after consecration, in the Lord's Supper. Gregory, in the eleventh century, sustained the views of Berenger on this subject. Having consulted, as he says, the blessed Virgin Mary, he was admonished by her ("*A. B. Maria audivit, et ad me retulit*,") "that nothing is to be thought or held, but what is contained in the holy Scriptures;" against which, says Gregory, Berengarius has advanced nothing. From that time the Church seems to have viewed the controversies in relation to the eucharist, as a matter to be settled by the polemical writers, and by each communicant for himself, according to his conscience. Like Gregory, the pontiffs were probably disposed to discourage the discussions on this mysterious subject; and to decide nothing definitely concerning the doctrine of the real presence, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

To Innocent III., belongs the honor of ingrafting a new doctrine, and with it new rites and ceremonies, into the church of Rome. At the fourth council of the Lateran, in the year 1215, he introduced the doctrine of transubstantiation, "that the consecration of the bread and wine produces a change of the whole substance of the bread, into the substance of the body of Christ our Lord, and of

the whole substance of the wine, into the substance of his blood." "In this sacrament," says the papal church, "is truly, really and substantially contained whole Christ God-Man, body and blood, bones and nerves, soul and divinity, under the species or appearance of bread and wine." In this celebration of the Lord's Supper, or "in the sacrifice of the mass, the same Christ is contained, and unbloodily offered, who bloodily offered himself upon the altar of the cross." "It is truly a propitiatory sacrifice, and is available, not only for the sins, punishments, and satisfactions of the living, but also for those of the souls in purgatory." "To the consecrated elements, or the Host,¹ must be rendered the same sovereign worship, or *latría*, which is due only to God, it must be adored; and prayers are to be offered to it." Such is the doctrine of transubstantiation, which, as an article of faith, was unknown in the Romish church before the thirteenth century.

This doctrine was never before this period inserted in the ecclesiastical code; nor can it be found in any of the writings of the fathers. Paschasius, in the ninth century, deriving his notions from the subtle distinctions of the Polemics, on the relation between the Father and the Son, in the fourth century, advanced the doctrine of consubstantiation in the eucharist. He was accused of entertaining gross and sensual notions on a subject so mysterious and spiritual in its nature. Between this, and the doctrine of Innocent, the critical acumen of a metaphysician can discover, at least the shadow of a difference. The consubstantiality of spiritual existences, or of the Father and the Son, formed the orthodox creed of the Homoeousians, and is an article of Christian faith. If, "of one substance in kind," explains the term Homoeousios, it is difficult to distinguish any essential difference between those doctrines. In both, the bread and wine are truly and really the body and blood of Christ. In consubstantiation, those elements, or the substance of the bread and wine, and the substance of the body and blood of Christ are homoeousion to each other, as two stars in the firmament of heaven may be said to be consubstantial one to the other; and can be supposed to differ only as one star differeth from another in glory. Thus it would appear that the doctrines of Paschasius and of Innocent, were the same in all their essential features.

The Reformers of the sixteenth century, adopted the term introduced by Paschasius, to express their Protestant faith; but became, in consequence of its inapplicability to the new opinions they advanced, involved in a labyrinth of difficulties. From the unhappy choice of this phrase they were very properly charged with believing that the body and blood of Christ are changed into one substance with the bread and wine." Luther, however, denied that the elements are so changed after consecration; and in explanation

¹Host, from Hostia, a sacrifice. The vessel in which the Host is deposited is called a cibory, which is a covered chalice.

of his creed imputed to the body and blood of Christ such a presence in the bread and wine, as caloric is present in heated iron. "As in red-hot iron two distinct substances, iron and fire, are united, so is the body of Christ joined with the bread." This illustration was similar to that of Origen in his doctrine of the Trinity, "that the Son was in the Father, as mind or the reasoning faculty is in man;" and the divine energy proceeding from this union, which he defined to be the Holy Ghost, might be supposed to be analogous to that influence which is exerted, as explained by Luther, on all those who receive the bread and wine, by the invisible, glorified body and blood of Christ, which are actually present in those consecrated elements. But the doctrine of the Protestant churches on this subject will be more particularly referred to in its appropriate place.

This sacrament is administered by the papal church as a propitiatory sacrifice; and it maintains, that "the consecrated elements are offerings made to God for the sins of the people, in the same sense as the expiatory sacrifices of the Jewish law, and not merely commemorative tokens." Upon this foundation was raised the immense structure of superstitious rites which now constitute the principal part of its public worship. Hence arose, the sacrifice of the Mass,¹ the adoration of the Host; in which the people fall down on their knees and worship it, the mediatorial character attributed to the Romish priests, the annual festival of the Holy Sacrament, &c.

As the consecrated elements were no longer simply bread and wine, or as expressed in a popish liturgy, "This is not bread, but God and man, my Savior," but objects of divine worship, the posture of prayer and adoration was substituted for that in which the disciples received them from the hands of the Lord Jesus Christ. The communicants no longer sat around a table, but, as worshippers of the Host, they knelt around the altar on which their God was placed, deposited in a golden chalice; nor did they dare to touch those elements with their profane hands, but the priests, after pronouncing the words, "*judica me*, &c.," from the Psalmist, and making many reverential gesticulations, would take the deified mor-

¹In the ceremonies of the Mass, the priest puts over his head a white veil, or the amice, in imitation of the Magian priest, when he officiates at the Altar of the Sun. When he puts it on, he says, "Put on, O Lord, the helmet of salvation upon my head, that I may overcome all diabolical temptations."

He also has a long white garment, or the Alb. In putting this on, he says, "Make me white, O Lord, and cleanse my heart, that being whitened in the blood of the Lamb, I may enjoy everlasting gladness."

The girdle is then put around him. When this is done, he offers up a third prayer, "Gird me, O Lord, with the girdle of purity, and quench in my loins the humor of lust, that there may remain in me the virtue of continency and chastity." There is also what is called the maniple, then the vestment, the stole. With these unmeaning habiliments, he proceeds to the performance of an idolatrous worship, as foolish, as it is sinful.

sels from the chalice, and put them into their mouths. The custom of kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was introduced coterminously with the doctrine of transubstantiation; and indeed was an indispensable form in the administration of this rite, as expressive of the adoration paid to the body and divinity of Christ in the substance of the bread. Three of the evangelists who have recorded the events connected with the institution of this sacred ordinance, expressly state, that "Christ sat down with the twelve,"¹ and John informs us that "Jesus rose from Supper." The table posture would seem the most appropriate; not only in view of this ordinance being a feast in commemoration of Christ's death and sufferings, but as that in which it was administered by the great Head of the Church. Although the occasion of its institution, and the purpose of a perpetual observance of its rites, "to show the Lord's death till he come," make it a religious and a solemn ceremony, the natural inclination of the human heart to idolatrous worship, admonishes us to avoid such forms in our observance of this rite, as are calculated to excite feelings of superstitious reverence. The festival of the Passover under the Mosaic dispensation was, but a type of this. That was of the nature of a domestic feast. It was also eucharistic; as the head of each family, when the paschal lamb was eaten, took the cup of thanksgiving, and offered to God, thanks for the deliverance of his people. In the solemnization of the Lord's Supper, that posture cannot be unbecoming or irreverent, which has been sanctioned by Him whom it commemorates; and although in itself of little importance, if it be one which savors of a worship of the creature rather than of the creator, it is not only improper, but wicked and profane. The popish custom of kneeling is professedly of this character.

The efforts of Alexander II. and of Gregory VII., in the eleventh century, to introduce the Latin tongue, in the Liturgies of all the Romish churches, were unsuccessful; and even in this century, it seems that the public service was not generally performed in that language. In the twelfth ecumenical council (fourth of Lateran,) which was convened in the year 1215, to which an allusion has already been made, it was decreed, that "Because in many parts, within the same city and diocese, there are many people of different manners and rites mixed together, but of one faith, the bishops of such cities or dioceses should provide fit men for celebrating divine offices according to the diversity of tongues and rites, and for administering the sacraments." It is uncertain when the custom of performing divine service in the Latin tongue was universally adopted.² That it may always have continued in Rome, is highly

¹The posture was reclining; and this is expressed in the original, *Anapipto*. "There was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved." John xiii. 23.

²The council of Trent in 1564, decreed, that "If any one shall say that the Mass ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue alone, let him be accursed." Pope Alexander VII., in 1660, pronounced a French translation of the missal, "a seed plot of disobedience, rashness, and schism," the authors, "sons of perdition."

probable. There the Latin language must have been longer understood by the people generally, than in the provinces of the empire remote from the capital. As late as the sixth century, Justinian I., directed, that "All bishops and priests shall celebrate the holy oblation, and the prayers used in holy baptism, not speaking low, but with a clear and loud voice, which may be heard by the people; in order that the minds of the hearers may be stirred up with greater devotion in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For thus the holy apostle teaches in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, and in his Epistle to the Romans." "And let the most religious priests know this, that if they neglect any of these things, neither the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Savior Jesus Christ, nor will we, when we know it, rest and leave it unrevenged." From which decree we must infer, that the practice of mumbling their prayers, in imitation of the Magian worshippers, had been already introduced into the Church at Rome; and that the service was still performed in the vernacular tongue. In that, and the following century, the Latin was still spoken even in France, and in its original purity. In the eighth century, however, a provincial dialect began to prevail,¹ what was called the "rustic Roman" became the vernacular of Gaul. In a council at Tours, (on the Loire, in the province of Touraine,) in the year 813, "The bishops are ordered to have certain homilies of the fathers translated into this new idiom, and into the German tongue."

In Italy the same progressive change may be traced, although at a later period. The Latin was spoken, but somewhat corrupted, as late as the ninth century. The Italians, although less enlightened than the French at this period, retained their original language longer, from the influence which the city of Rome still exerted in its preservation. In the provinces of the Roman empire the Latin was written with a tolerable degree of purity by the learned. All the public documents, such as the decrees of the councils, rescripts of the popes, all legal instruments, important national records, and public correspondences, were drawn up in that language. It should be observed, however, that comparatively few are embraced in the catalogue of the learned. The periods referred to, were the precursors of a reign of ignorance. With the tenth century, commenced the dark age, and the century itself has been called the iron age of the Latins. The few traces of learning are to be found with the clergy only. In the tenth century, as remarked by a writer of distinction, "Scarcely one person could be found in Rome, who understood the elements of letters." "In England, not a priest south of the Thames, at the close of the ninth century, understood

¹The following examples of the change in the orthography of the Latin will show its progressive corruption. *Lui*, was written for *illius*; *Tu lo juva*, for *Tu illum juva*, &c. (Hallam's Middle Ages.)

the common prayers, or could translate the Latin into his mother tongue."

The Latin language then, being understood generally, as late as the eighth century, the public services in that language were intelligible to the people. From that period it became necessary to prepare the liturgies, according to the diversity of tongues which prevailed in the several States, under the jurisdiction of the church of Rome. In this century, we have seen that the council of Lateran issued a decree, for "providing fit men for celebrating divine offices according to this diversity of tongues."

The Church appears not to have adopted its present system of excluding the people from a knowledge of the Scriptures, until the general diffusion of spiritual light, with the revival of learning, exposed the corruptions, the vices, the superstitious rites, the false doctrines, and the oppressive tyranny, which for centuries back had been advancing from age to age, multiplying and increasing in strength as they advanced. With a growing spirit of inquiry among the people, as the clouds of ignorance and superstition which had obscured the mental vision were dissipated, the false pretensions and the absurdities of popery, began to appear in all their native deformities. In the beginning of this century, the fearful issue was made, between the Church with all its abominations, and the moral and intellectual improvement of the people. In the progress of spiritual regeneration, an influence had risen up which threatened the existence of the Romish hierarchy. The translations of the sacred Scriptures communicated to the laity, a knowledge of its divine truths. The celebrated Waldo, a wealthy merchant of Lyons, had procured for his followers, a copy in the vernacular of the southern provinces of France. Another translation of the Bible, probably published in Mentz, was circulated in Lorraine, and some of the adjoining provinces on the Rhine. The Paulicians who had migrated from Thrace and Bulgaria, brought with them the gospels in their native language; which, we are informed by ancient and undoubted testimony, they not only studied assiduously, but even committed to memory. The Vaudois had for ages back cultivated an intimate acquaintance with the sacred writings. As early as the eleventh century, the returning rays of science began to be developed in various parts of Europe. Intellectual pursuits in the twelfth, excited the enthusiasm and commanded the ardent devotion of all classes of men. This was the age of the revival of learning. The famous Pandects of Justinian were discovered in the ruins of Amalphi, and inspired new zeal in the study of the civil law. The canon law was compiled by Gratian. Jurisprudence thus became an important branch in the academical courses of the Universities. Logic and the higher departments of philosophy were successfully taught. Theology presented an unbounded field for the exercise of the mind; and it was then that the system of scholastic divinity

was carried to its highest state of refinement, and it may be added, of mystification; by the writings of Abelard, Gilbert de la Poree, John, of Salisbury, Richard, of St. Victor, and many others, who were distinguished, either for the extent of their learning, or the subtlety of their reasoning.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, we discover the first efforts of the spirit of popery to suppress the progress of religious knowledge, by withholding the only source of spiritual illumination. In the year 1229, a council at Toulouse, prohibited the laity from the use of the Scriptures, or publishing it in the vulgar tongue. This prohibition was subsequently repeated by other councils. From this period, we may with certainty date the introduction of a principle which has been universally sustained by popery, and forms one of its peculiar characteristics of the present day, the exclusion of the laity from the perusal of the sacred Scriptures.

Why has the Romish church thus clothed in an unknown language its Bible and its liturgy, and denied to the people all access to the word of God? The council of Trent, in its canon, "*De libris prohibitis*," has said, "If the Holy Bible be permitted to be read every where, without difference, in the vulgar tongue, more harm than good results thence, through the rashness of men; let it, therefore, be the pleasure of the bishop or inquisitor, with the advice of the parish clerk or confessor, to grant the reading of the Bible, translated by Catholic (popish) authors, to those who, in their opinion, will thereby receive an increase of faith and piety. This license let them have in writing; and whosoever shall presume, without permission, to read or to possess such Bibles, may not receive the ablution of his sins (*peccatorum absolutionem*) till he has returned them to the ordinary." This council convened in the middle of the sixteenth century. The principles of the Reformation had become firmly established in the minds of the people; and all the efforts of the church of Rome, assisted by the civil authority, had failed to subdue the spirit of religious freedom. Translations of the Bible were multiplied, and circulated in the length and breadth of the land. The anathemas of the Church, and the thunders of the Vatican, were alike disregarded by those distinguished men whom God in his providence had raised up in defense of his truth. Popery could no longer drive back the tide of moral regeneration; but all its energies were directed to impede its advance. It dared not withhold that light which the people imperatively called for, but it could present it under false colors, and still delude its hapless votaries. For three centuries, it had prohibited the translation of the Latin vulgate. "It had taken away from them the key of knowledge, and would neither enter in, nor suffer those that would, to go in." What then it could no longer prohibit, it endeavored to restrain. It permitted those, whose ignorance and superstition still bound them within its pale, to read the Bible trans-

lated by popish authors, to whom the bishop or the inquisitor might in his pleasure extend his license. This is the extent, at the present day, of the privilege which a Romanist enjoys of searching the Scriptures and reading the word of God. "Let no one," said the council, "buy or read these Bibles without the permission of their pastors, under the penalty of being denied an absolution of his sins."

Among the earliest efforts to introduce the Latin liturgy into those States, where it had long ceased to be intelligible, was that by John XIV., in the year 984; who confirmed the appointment of Dithmar to the see of Prague, under the condition that the public service be performed in that language. The Bohemians, however, remonstrated against the innovation; and Gregory V., assented to a repeal of that condition in the year 1000, and to the restoration of the Greek rites in conformity with the vernacular of that country. But the controversy in the Bohemian churches was continued, on this and on other subjects; which created dissensions amongst its members. The nobility inclined to the rites of the Latin church, whilst the common people differed from it, and refused to adhere to its usages and forms. They rejected the festivals enjoined by the popes; they formed marriage contracts without the offices of the priests; they buried their dead frequently out of consecrated ground; and the lower orders of ecclesiastics entered into the bonds of wedlock. These, and the question of the liturgy, which the popes by stratagem, and the influence of the nobility, had succeeded in restoring to the Romish form, agitated the Church until the close of the eleventh century. Gregory VII., who was then in the pontifical chair, was appealed to for a confirmation of the right granted by Gregory V., to perform public worship in the Bohemian language. The reply of this pontiff gives no doubt the true reasons for the introduction into all the popish churches of the use of the Latin tongue in their public services. "In our frequent meditations upon the Holy Scriptures, we have discovered that it has been, and still is pleasing to Almighty God, that his sacred worship should be performed in an unknown tongue, in order that the whole world, and especially the most simple, may not be able to understand it. In truth, if all chaunted publicly in a known language, the service would soon excite contempt and disgust. Or it would happen that the common people, by repeating so often that which they could not comprehend, would fall into many great errors, from which it would be difficult to withdraw the heart of man. Nor is it proper to alledge here, that this indulgence has been sometimes granted to the most ignorant, especially, when they were recently converted; as was done also in the primitive church, regard being had to the simplicity and soundness in the faith of the people generally. For as it has been proven, that from them have arisen much evil and many heresies; it is no longer advisable, under the present

established and stable Christian order, to connive at it. We cannot, therefore, comply with what your people have unreasonably demanded; and we forbid it, by the authority of God and the blessed St. Peter, exhorting you for the glory of Almighty God, to resist, by every method this fruitless temerity." This Epistle was directed to Wratisslaus, duke of Bohemia; and taken of itself shows to what a height of arrogance and impiety the pontiffs had carried their pretensions. He affirms, "That it has been, and still is pleasing to Almighty God, that his sacred worship should be performed in an unknown tongue." The apostle Paul, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, 14th chapter, after condemning those who prayed in a language unintelligible to the Church, concludes with this emphatic declaration, "I had rather speak five words with my understanding, in the Church, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue." But what was the practice of the primitive church!

Origen, of the third century, in his eighth Book against Celsus, says "The Greeks pray in the Greek language, the Latins in the Latin; and thus each in his own dialect prays to God," &c. Cyprian, after Origen, remarks "The priest, having made a preface before prayer, prepares the minds of the brethren, by saying, 'Lift up your hearts,' and the people answer, 'We lift them up unto the Lord.'" Which service could not have been performed, had the priest addressed his congregation in a language which they did not understand. Ambrose, of the fourth century, in his comment upon the Epistle of Paul, says "God knoweth all things; but men do not, and therefore they derive no profit from this unknown tongue." Jerome, who flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries, is equally explicit in his remarks on this chapter of the Epistle to the Corinthians, "If any man," he says, "speak in strange and unknown tongues, his mind is made unfruitful, not to himself, but to the hearer; for he knows not what is spoken." The practice of the Romish church from the sixth to the present century, has been already stated. John XIV., at the close of the tenth century, endeavored to make an innovation in this mode of public worship, but Gregory V., about fifteen years after him, annulled his decree. Gregory VII., renewed the recript of John; and the ecumenical council in this century, abrogated Gregory's act, and provided for the diversity of tongues and rites in the several churches, by ordering the bishops to procure fit men for celebrating the divine offices, and administering the sacraments according to this diversity. The decree of the council at Toulouse, in 1229, may be considered as the first decisive act of the Church to wrest the Scriptures from the people. As late as the thirteenth century then, it would appear that, no restrictions had been imposed upon the laity in reading the Scriptures, by the councils of the Church; and that no particular liturgy, and in the Latin tongue, had been prescribed to all the

churches without regard to the diversity of their languages and rites. But, it is admitted, that from the tenth century, the popes did from time to time, and on their own authority, impose restrictions upon the reading and publishing of the sacred writings; and endeavored also to introduce the Latin service into the churches. In conclusion, it may be observed that the council of Trent in the sixteenth century, anathematized and cursed the ecumenical council of this century, by decreeing, that "If any one shall say that the mass ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue alone, let him be accursed: and this anathema, unfortunately for its pretensions to infallibility, must follow the Church back from the fourth council of Lateran, to the first successor of St. Peter; and its awful and solemn denunciations will be heard, in their distant and expiring tone, condemning as a damnable and heretical doctrine, the inspired declaration of the apostle, "If I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful."

The increasing growth of heresy awakened the most anxious fears of the popish hierarchy. In the southern provinces of France, and in the valleys of Piedmont; or the Albigenses on the western side of the Alps, and the Waldenses on the eastern, disseminated their doctrines in open defiance of the bishops and clergy of the Romish church. Innocent III., alarmed at the progress of gospel truth, and the rapid diffusion of spiritual light over these regions of his papal dominion, commissioned Rainier, a Cistercian monk, and Pierre de Castelnau, an arch-deacon of Maguelone, to visit the southern provinces of France, and *to inquire* into the progress and nature of those heretical opinions; and, as his legates, to suppress their further growth. This memorable commission was given in the year 1206. The celebrated Dominic, founder, soon after of the Order of the Dominicans, voluntarily united with them in the laudable design of extirpating heresy. These heresy hunters, or inquisitors, were bound by an oath, "to seek for heretics, in towns, houses, cellars, and other lurking places, and also in woods, caves, fields, &c.," and most cruelly did they fulfil the purposes of their mission. Such was the origin of the holy inquisition.

The success of this new expedient to defend the faith, encouraged Innocent and his successors in the apostolic chair, to appoint inquisitors in every city suspected of being tainted with heretical doctrines. In 1229, the council at Toulouse, which prohibited the laity from possessing the Scriptures, and over which the pope's legate presided, established in each of those cities a council of inquisitors, consisting of one priest and three laymen. In 1233, Gregory IX., placed in the hands of the Dominican friars, the entire control and management of the inquisitorial trust; and by a formal epistle released the bishops from the duties of that religious office. In the same year, the system was organized by the pope's legate in France; who appointed Pierre Cellan and Guillaume Arnaud,

"Inquisitors of heretical pravity in Toulouse;" (Languedoc;) and soon after, another Board of Inquisitors was instituted in Carcassone, in the same province. Before these courts, all persons accused of *Vauderie*, or of the Waldensian doctrines of witchcraft, of Judaism, &c., were arraigned. To strengthen the power of these new judicial tribunals, the princes of Europe were induced by the pontiffs to enact the severest laws against heresy, and all offenses cognizable by those courts; and at the same time to protect their officers by strict legislative enactments.

The requirements of the pontiffs were, to the eternal disgrace of Frederick II. and Louis IX., complied with by those monarchs. The most barbarous and inhuman laws were passed in their respective kingdoms, and by their authority. Sanguinary as were those enactments, the bloodhounds of the inquisition, urged on by the papal benedictions and assurances of salvation for their pious deeds, enforced them under circumstances of the most vindictive cruelty. But it is not within my design to give a particular account of those instruments of popish barbarity. I have noticed their origin; their progress and history may be traced in the writings of Limborch, Prescott, Llorente, and others.

The college of the Sorbonne, was founded in Paris in the year 1250. This institution was designed for the study of divinity; and was richly endowed by Robert de Sorbonne, from whom it derived its title. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whilst the controversies which sprang out of the Reformation agitated the whole of Europe, this theological school exercised an unfavorable influence against its progress in France. The term *Sorbonne*, became a synonym for bigotry, and it has always been celebrated for the acuteness and subtilty of its doctors in polemic disputations. The bigoted attachment of the faculty of this college to the papal church, may doubtless be attributed to the privilege which was secured to the Dominicans, through the authority of pope Alexander IV., in 1259, of having professorships of their order.

In the fifth century, under the pontificate of Leo I., or the Great, penitents were excused from an open confession of their sins before the whole congregation, and permitted to make them in private to a priest. This act was considered as a duty which had been generally complied with; but it was not exacted as a doctrine of the Church. In this century, Innocent enacted, that auricular confession to the priest of all the sins and follies of a penitent was a necessary duty, and that the absolution given should be considered as having a sacramental efficacy. The neglect of this duty exposed the recusant to an exclusion from the Church, and to a denial of Christian burial. "Every one of the faithful, of both sexes, (says the canon,) on coming to years of discretion, shall, in private, faithfully confess all their sins, at least once a year, to their own pastor; and fulfill, to the best of their power, the penance enjoined them, &c."

This is considered by the Romish church, as part of the sacrament of penance; and has had a most corrupting influence on the morals of both the clergy and the people.

Notwithstanding the boasted antiquity of the rites and doctrines of the Romish church, which the papists have advanced as the evidence of its being the only true Church, and upon this pretension have claimed for it the character of infallibility; we have seen that neither of these, as they exist at the present day, received any thing of a settled form, but in the slow progress of time. Some of them, which have already been referred to, date from the fifteenth century. Its government has been alike progressive. The whole structure of its institutions, the design and workmanship of human skill, must of necessity have been the result of a process of aggregation. Like its own temple of St. Peter, it has been reared by the treasures and the blood of its votaries. The powers and prerogatives of the pontiffs were increased by successive aggressions on the rights of others. The maxim, that power gives right, has furnished a ruling principle by which they were universally governed; from the institution of diocesan episcopacy in the second century, when the bishops declared in the ecclesiastical council, "that they were no more than the delegates of their respective churches, and that they acted in the name, and by the appointment of the people," to the year 1300, "when Boniface VIII., appeared at the jubilee dressed in imperial habits, with the two swords borne before him, emblems of his temporal as well as spiritual dominion over the earth."¹

The highest aspirations of the popes, we might suppose had been now attained. The superiority of the ecclesiastical over the temporal power seems to have been finally established. The liberality of the princes had from time to time augmented their wealth; and their own rapacity had enriched their treasures. New claims to cities and territories were continually advanced, founded on forged documents, purporting to be concessions by preceding emperors and kings. Of this character was the fictitious grant which was presented to Charlemagne, in the eighth century, by Adrian I., of the city of Rome and its adjoining territories by the emperor Constantine to the Church. When the pontiffs had acquired an entire control over the temporal as well as the spiritual affairs of Europe, the necessity of advancing their interests, under a pretext of right, ceased. Two principles had been early adopted as axioms whose truth could not be questioned; one was, that "It is not only lawful, but

¹ "The pope is universal judge, king of kings and lord of lords; because his power is of God. God's tribunal and the pope's are the same, and they have the same consistency. All other powers are his subjects. The pope is judged of none but God." Moscovius, de Majest. Eccles. Militant. Lib. 1st, chap. 7, p. 26.

"We declare every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff, as an article of necessary faith." See Constitution of Boniface VIII., styled "*Unam Sanctam*."

even praiseworthy to deceive, and even to use the expedient of a lie, in order to advance the cause of truth and piety." This was one of the contributions of the Pythagorean philosophy to the Christian Church in its incipient state of corruption; the other was, that "An oath disadvantageous to the Church is not binding." Both of these are embodied in the canon law. The latter is expressed in the decretals of Innocent III.¹ This pontiff, in the plenitude of his power, laid aside these impediments to temporal acquisitions, and seized with a tenacious grasp whatever became the objects of his avarice. He took forcible possession of the province of Ancona on the Adriatic, of the duchy of Spoleto, and many cities and fortresses, as having been unjustly and impiously separated from the patrimony of St. Peter; and these have ever since remained under the ecclesiastical dominion. Nicholas III., compelled the emperor Rodolphus I., to concede to the see of Rome whatever claims might be advanced by it, as a condition of his coronation. By virtue of this concession, the empire was at once divested of many of its territories and cities, which were formally annexed to the States of the Church.

But these acquisitions did not satisfy the insatiable avarice of the ghostly fathers. Saturn-like they devoured their own children. "The pontiffs," says Mosheim, "who formerly disputed with such ardor, against the emperors in favor of the free election of bishops and abbots, now overturned all the laws that related to the election of these spiritual rulers, reserving for themselves the revenues of the richest benefices, conferring vacant places upon their clients and their creatures, nay, often deposing bishops that had been duly and lawfully elected, and substituting, with a high hand, others in their room."

This act of aggression only sharpened their appetites for plunder. The taxation of the clergy, was first attempted by Innocent for the avowed purpose of a crusade against Constantinople, and afterward by Gregory IX. to protect the possessions of the see against Frederick. These formed precedents, which soon ripened into law; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the bishops, the pontiffs persisted in a system of the most rapacious exactions. Before this innovation, the clergy, their persons as well as their property, had been exempt from all taxation; from the supposed sacredness of their character, and a superstitious fear of committing sacrilege by demanding from the ecclesiastical order, pecuniary contributions for temporal purposes. The bishops did not hesitate to reproach the pontiffs with venality and avarice, but this sacerdotal contest terminated in their defeat. "The church is one body," said Boniface, "and has one head. Under its command are two swords, the one temporal, and the other spiritual."

¹ "Juramentum contra utilitatem ecclesiasticam prestitum non tenet." This has been applied to the conduct of the Church with regard to heretics.

The institution of a new rite points out another innovation in the Church, at the close of this century. The jubilee, in imitation of the *Ludi sæculares*, was first celebrated, under an epistolary mandate by Boniface, in 1299. The celebration commenced in the beginning of the year 1300. During the secular games of the pagan Romans, sacrifices were offered as well to the infernal as the celestial gods. Religious solemnities were observed, which were followed by various exhibitions, to amuse the populace. Preparatory to the celebration of this festival, the Sibylline books were consulted, and certain expiatory rites were observed. But in the pompous display of wealth, in the licentiousness and debaucheries which prevailed in the city, and in the disorder and the crimes which attended the Christian jubilees, papal Rome far surpassed the Metropolis of the ancient Roman empire. Plenary indulgences were promised to all pilgrims who would, in the course of the year, visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. "The pope," says a writer,¹ "received from these, immense sums of money; for in the night as well as in the day, two priests stood at the altar of St. Paul, holding rakes in their hands, raking in an incalculable amount." (*Infinitam et innumerabilem pecuniam.*) This was intended as a centenary festival; but as it proved a source of immense wealth to the popes, the periods were subsequently shortened to twenty-five years.

Whilst we are thus taking a superficial survey of the power, wealth, and grandeur of the Romish hierarchy, we must not overlook the cheering fact, that in the bosom of the Church, the seeds of contention were germinating. It is a remarkable circumstance, and shows the merciful providence of God, that at the period when we may date the meridian glory of this colossal power, we perceive the incipient operation of those principles which weakened its energies, and prepared the minds of the people for the consummation of that great Reformation, which had been slowly advancing since the middle of the third century.

In the contests between the pontiffs and the bishops, on the freedom of election to vacant sees, and the right of collation, or presentation to ecclesiastical benefices, the abuses of the Church (of which the highest order of the clergy were now made sensible,) were freely canvassed, and angrily protested against. The controversy which commenced with the bishops, whose ecclesiastical prerogatives and pecuniary emoluments were thus unexpectedly invaded, was extended to the princes; and the people themselves became disaffected towards a spiritual authority which they had looked up to, with superstitious veneration and awe.

The bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosstete, took a distinguished part in this controversy; and resisted the usurpation of the popes

¹Hallam's Middle Ages.

with so much zeal and firmness of spirit, that he has been enrolled by some writers as one of the precursors of the Reformation.—Louis IX. of France, although a bigot to the Romish superstitions, and a servile instrument of the pope, was at length aroused by the increasing danger of the papal encroachments, and by an edict, protected the Gallican church in its ancient and acknowledged rights. “The itinerant minstrels invented tales to satirize vicious priests, which a predisposed multitude eagerly swallowed.”

But another influence sprung up in the two religious orders which were considered the firmest pillars of popery. The dissensions between the Franciscans and the Dominicans, distracted the councils of the church, weakened in the minds of the people their habitual prejudices in its favor, and produced a general impression that a renovation of its entire structure had become necessary. These orders were not only in a state of avowed enmity towards each other; but differences arose among themselves, in their respective fraternities, and each order was divided into distinct and separate branches. “Whoever,” says Mosheim, “considers with attention the series of events that happened in the Latin church, from this remarkable period, will be fully convinced that the mendicant orders, whether through imprudence or design, we shall not determine, gave several mortal blows to the authority of the church of Rome, and excited in the minds of the people, those ardent desires of a reformation in the church, which produced, in after times, such substantial and such glorious effects.”

The several monastic orders which existed in the beginning of this century, particularly the society of Benedictines, had sunk into the lowest state of depravity and vice. Withdrawn from the control of the bishops, who were however generally not less temporal minded and sensual, than the monks themselves; they gave a loose rein to the indulgence of every base appetite. Those institutions had long lost their religious character, and with it, that influence which they had formerly exercised over the superstitious feelings of the multitude. The contrast between the strict virtues and pious deportment of the dissenters from the Church, or the heretics, as they were reproachfully called, and the vices of the Romish clergy, was apparent to all. The unreasonable pretensions and profligacy of the pontiffs had called forth the severe animadversions of the whole Christian world. It was manifest that the affairs of the Church had arrived at a crisis. To maintain its control over the public mind, now becoming enlightened by the general diffusion of knowledge, a change in the immoralities of the ecclesiastics was imperatively demanded. It was with this view that the Dominican and Franciscan orders were instituted. To the sagacity of Innocent III. must be imputed the first suggestion of such organizations. By their strict discipline, and renunciation of all worldly possessions, they were designed to rescue the moral char-

acter of the Church from public opprobrium. All traits of its religious character had long before been obliterated. The pontiffs, therefore, of this century, as safeguards to the papal throne, remodeled the monastic orders; diminishing their number, and extending their patronage to such as they deemed best calculated to accomplish the desired end. The Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Carmelites, and the Hermits of St. Augustine, were favored with peculiar distinctions and exclusive privileges. The pontiffs encouraged the belief of their extraordinary sanctity. Their influence became paramount; and even in the administration of the rites of the Church, the ordinary priests found their customary vocations intruded upon by those sanctimonious mendicants. But these desperate efforts to strengthen the throne were not attended with the happy results anticipated. God had said, "I will do judgment upon the graven images of Babylon; and her whole land shall be confounded, for she hath caused the slain of Israel to fall."

The papal machinery was ingeniously contrived and artfully constructed; but the arm which had raised it up, was unable to direct and govern its movements. A contest soon arose between the Dominicans and Franciscans on the one hand, and the doctors of the Sorbonne on the other. The order of Alexander IV. to confer on the Dominicans as many professorships in the academy, as they demanded, and to concede to the Franciscans also, certain academical rights which they had claimed in that theological institution, excited to the highest degree, the doctors of the Sorbonne. St. Amour, one of their most learned divines, attacked the Dominicans with unsparing severity. In his "Perils of the latter times," "he maintained publicly, that their discipline was in direct opposition to the precepts of the gospel; and that in confirming it, the popes had been guilty of temerity, and the Church had become chargeable with error." He applied to the four mendicant orders, the prophecy of Paul in his second Epistle to Timothy, "that in the last days perilous times shall come," &c. &c.

But the evil did not stop here. Dissensions arose among the Franciscans themselves. Joachim, abbot of Flora, in Calabria, had published a work entitled, "The Everlasting Gospel." In this, "he foretold the destruction of the church of Rome, whose corruptions he censured with the greatest severity; and the promulgation of a new and more perfect gospel in the age of the Holy Ghost, by a set of poor and austere ministers, whom God would raise up and employ for that purpose."¹ The Spirituals, as the austere Franciscans were called, to distinguish them from those of that order who were sensually disposed, believed that they were the instruments of Divine Providence for the fulfillment of this pro-

¹Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.

phcey. This division in the fraternity occasioned a serious injury to the Romish church.

Accompanying these movements was the attack of Jean Pierre d'Olive, the leader of the Spirituals, on the corruptions of the papal church; maintaining, that it is represented in the Apocalypse by "the whore of Babylon, the mother of harlots, sitting upon a scarlet colored beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns." In this century appeared the works of the poet Dante.¹ As an evidence of the general impression which seems at this time to have prevailed, with respect to the true character of that church, we find in his poem the same delineation given to it. In his 19th canto, of his vision in hell, he addresses himself to Pope Nicholas III. whom he meets with in the third gulf, in the following words:

"Of shepherds like to you, th' Evangelist
Was ware, when her, who sits upon the waves,
With kings in filthy whoredom he beheld;
She who with seven heads tower'd at her birth,
And from ten horns her proof of glory drew,
Long as her spouse in virtue took delight,
Of gold and silver ye have made your god,
Differing wherein from the idolater,
But that he worships one—a hundred ye."

The *Fratricelli*, otherwise called, *Beguards*, or *Fratres Minores*² were a branch of the Spirituals, and like the others alledged open charges against the popes and bishops, of immoralities and vices; and predicted that a reformation of religion would be brought about by the true followers of St. Francis. They revered the memory of Celestine V., but refused to acknowledge Boniface VIII. and his successors, as the legitimate heads of the Church.

Thus were the religious orders, which the popes had flattered themselves, would be the strong pillars of popery, made instruments, by the providence of God, of those reforms which they were the most solicitous to avert. We will now resume the history of the Reformation.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

The church established by Columba, in the sixth century, among the Picts in Scotland, preserved its distinctive character until the close of the eleventh century. In the reign of Malcolm III., surnamed Canmore, from the largeness of his head, the Culdees were either persuaded or compelled to adopt many of the superstitious rites of the Romish church. This change was effected through the influence of the queen, Margaret, an Anglo Saxon princess.

¹Age of Dante, from 1265 to 1321.

²The term *Fratricelli*, having become odious to the papists by the reproach cast upon the Church by this branch of the Franciscans, was indiscriminately applied to the Waldenses, and to all who reviled the Church on account of its vices.

Educated on the continent, and accustomed to the pomp and gorgeous ceremonies of the papal worship, the simple forms of the Culdees were offensive to her refined ideas; and her zealous labors were directed to the extirpation of what seemed to her the last traces of a barbarous age. Her efforts were accompanied with success; and her name has been enrolled in the catalogue of saints. Many of the Culdee churches, however, retained their ancient forms, and it was not until the beginning of this century, that the last traces of them are to be discerned. Some writers, indeed, believe that vestiges of the ancient religious institutions of Columba, were unobliterated as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century. The pure religion of the gospel was preserved in the mountains of the Alps; and there are evidences of its preservation among the Picts, at a period when an idolatrous worship prevailed in all the states and provinces of Europe and Asia, which had been brought under the jurisdiction of the Latin and Greek churches.

“When the papists ask us,” says a distinguished writer,¹ “where our religion was before Luther? we may answer, In the Bible; and we answer well. But to gratify their taste for tradition and human authority, we may add, In the valleys of Piedmont and on the mountains of Scotland.”

It has been mentioned that the Piedmont is now the principal province of the continental states of the king of Sardinia; and that it was formerly under the government of the dukes of Savoy. After the extinction of the kingdom of Burgundy, in the year 561, Savoy, which had been one of its provinces, was transferred to the government of France, and was an appendage to that kingdom until 888; when it was annexed to what was called Transjurane Burgundy, which in the year 933, was blended with the kingdom of Arclat, or Arcles. By the annexation of Arcles afterward, to Germany, Savoy became a province of the German empire, and its different parts were governed by counts appointed by the emperors. The earldom, however, became hereditary in the beginning of the eleventh century. Piedmont constituted a part of its domains. After the death of Bonifacius Roland, the ninth hereditary count of Savoy, in 1263; his uncle, Philip, arch-bishop of Lyons, succeeded to the earldom, in prejudice of the children of his elder brother, Thomas. Piedmont became then, a distinct principality, under the government of the descendants of Thomas, who received the title of princes or counts. When in 1418 this branch of the house of Savoy, became extinct by the death of Lewis, it was again annexed to Savoy in the person of Amadæus VIII., who had been elevated the preceding year to the rank of duke, by the emperor Sigismund. Amadæus was elected pope in 1440, by the council of Basil, and assumed the name of Felix V. In conse-

¹Mr. Gavin's Protestant.

quence of the dissensions which then prevailed in the Church, on the question of the succession to the papal chair, he relinquished his claim in 1449. After his death, in the year 1451, his son Louis, succeeded to the duchy of Savoy. It may be here mentioned, that the eldest son of the reigning duke was distinguished by the title of "Prince of Piedmont." In 1535, the reigning duke, Charles III., surnamed the Good,¹ was dispossessed of nearly all of his dominions by Francis I., king of France, his nephew; but on the accession of his son Emanuel Philibert, who married Margaret, the daughter of Francis, the integrity of the duchy was restored.

Languedoc, in the beginning of this century was under the government of the counts or earls of Toulouse, but was annexed to France in 1229. Provence was annexed in 1272; and Dauphine in the year 1349.

With these historical facts in view, many of which have been mentioned in anticipation of their proper dates, the narration of the events in the progress of the Reformation of this, and the succeeding century will be better understood.

Philip II., surnamed Augustus, was the reigning sovereign of France, in the beginning of this century. Frederick II. occupied the imperial throne, and Innocent III. was the reigning pontiff.

"In the year 1163, during the pontificate of Alexander III., at the Synod of Tours, all the bishops and priests in the country of Toulouse, (Languedoc,) were commanded to take care, and to forbid, under the pain of excommunication, every person from presuming to give reception, or the least assistance to the followers of this heresy, (of the Waldenses and Albigenses,) neither were they to have any dealings with them in buying or selling. Whoever shall dare to contravene this order, let him be excommunicated.—As many of them as can be found, let them be imprisoned by the (papal) princes, and punished with the forfeiture of all their substance." Lucius III., the successor of Alexander, in the year 1181, issued a decree "breathing out threatnings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord." Its language was, "To abolish the malignity of diverse heresies, which are lately sprung up in most parts of the world, it is but fitting that the power committed to the Church should be awakened, that, by the concurring assistance of the imperial strength, both the insolence and the malpertness of the heretics, in their false designs, may be crushed, and the truth of Catholic simplicity shining forth in the holy Church, may demonstrate her, pure and free from the execrableness of their false doctrines." The decree denounces all those dissenting from the Romish church, and declares them to be under a perpetual anathema. A curse which has never been withdrawn; which now hangs over

¹The famous "Louisa of Savoy," who made so conspicuous a figure in the French court, in the sixteenth century, was the sister of Charles, and the mother of Francis, and Margaret who embraced the principles of the Reformation.

every Protestant; and only suspended, from the want of power to enforce it by the gibbet and the flames. It then proceeds, "If any layman shall be found guilty, either publicly or privately, of any of the aforesaid crimes, (that is, preaching or speaking improperly of the sacraments,) unless by abjuring his heresy, and making satisfaction, he immediately return to the orthodox faith, we decree him to be left to the sentence of the secular judge, to receive condign punishment, according to the quality of the offense." In the pontificate of Celestine III., Ildefonsus, king of Arragon, at the instigation of his ghostly father, ordained, that "All heretics," found in his dominions, "be condemned and persecuted every where; and all persons present at their pernicious sermons, be punished, as if they were actually guilty of high treason." Thus were the popes successively urging upon the princes of Europe to exterminate with fire and sword, their quiet and peaceful subjects, whose only offense was, that they worshipped God agreeably to the dictates of their consciences, and refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the Romish hierachy. The cruelties inflicted upon those innocent and inoffensive sectaries in the twelfth century, were but the beginnings of sorrows. Truly was fulfilled in them the prediction of our Savior, that his disciples should be delivered up to councils; that they shall be brought before rulers and kings for his sake, and shall be hated of all men for his name's sake.

Innocent III. having in 1206, commissioned Rainier and Castelnau to visit the southern provinces of France, with full powers to inquire into, and to suppress all heresies which might be discovered, in the following year called upon the princes of Europe to assist in the extermination of these recusant and contumacious sectaries. "'Tis the command of God," said his holiness, "If thou shalt hear say in any one of thy cities, which the Lord thy God hath given thee to dwell there, saying, Let us go and serve other gods, which ye have not known, thou shalt smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword."

Castelnau, in the execution of his inquisitorial powers, had inflicted upon those suspected or accused of heresy, the most barbarous cruelties. So great was the popular indignation, that he, with his assistant inquisitor, were massacred by an incensed populace in Languedoc. This occurrence excited the highest indignation of Innocent. Raymond VI., earl of Toulouse, within whose territories the legate had been killed, was excommunicated with the most denunciatory anathemas. Raymond had incurred the vengeance of his ghostly father, by refusing to persecute the heretics within his dominions, and had even dared to extend to them, his protection. "If we could open your heart," said Innocent, in a letter addressed him, "we should find, and would point out to you, the detestable abominations that you have committed; but as it is harder than the rock, it is in vain to strike it with the words of salvation; we

cannot penetrate it. Pestilential man! what pride has seized your heart, and what is your folly, to refuse peace with your neighbors, and to brave the divine laws, by protecting the enemies of the faith? If you do not fear eternal flames, ought you not to dread the temporal chastisements which you have merited by so many crimes?"

The territories of Raymond were put under an interdict; and the whole of Christendom was called on to avenge the cause of Christ and his Church. The princes and nobles were invited to engage in this holy war against the enemies of the cross. Abbots and priests traversed the whole of Europe, preaching a crusade against the Albigenses. Paradise and a plenary indulgence were liberally offered to all who would enlist under the banner of the cross, and serve forty days in the work of extermination. After declaring that faith must not be kept with those who do not keep faith with God. Innocent thus addressed the princes: "We exhort you, that you would endeavor to destroy the wicked heresy of the Albigenses, and do this with more rigor than you would towards the Saracens themselves; persecute them with a strong hand; deprive them of their lands and possessions; banish them, and put Catholics in their room." The utmost extent of indulgence was therefore, promised to the crusaders, which had ever been extended to those who had fought for the deliverance of the Holy Land.

The king of France zealously engaged in the expedition, but apprehensive that his own kingdom might be invaded by the English during his absence from his capital, the pope, to avert this danger, and to quiet his apprehension, addressed a letter to the English monarch in the following language: "Make no war, either by yourself, or your brother, or any other person, on the said king, (of France) so long as he is engaged in the affair of the faith and service of Jesus Christ, lest by your obstructing the matter, which God forbid you should do, the king, with his prelates and barons of France, should be forced to turn their arms, from the extirpation of heretics, to their own defense."

"Who will rise up for me against the evil doers? or, who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity?" One hundred thousand men, with each a cross upon his breast, rallied under the standards of their leaders, from every quarter of Christendom. Arnold, abbot of Cîteaux, assumed the spiritual charge of this immense army, who were about to invade a harmless and inoffensive people, and to exterminate them by the authority of the pope, for no other reason than that they persisted in reading the word of God, and in worshipping him as that Word directed. Simon, earl of Montford, of the bastard race of Robert, king of France, was appointed the commander-in-chief of the crusaders.

Whilst the preparations for this dreadful expedition were re-

sounding throughout Europe, and were hastened with the impetuosity of fanatical zeal, the pope's emissaries were sent into Languedoc, to quiet the fears of the Albigenses, and by false promises of leniency and forbearance on the part of the Church, to lull their vigilance. Under the pretext of negotiating peace, these devoted victims were invited to hold a conference at Carcassone with the popish bishops. Nothing, said the court of Rome, would be more satisfactory to the holy mother church, than to arrest the arm of the executioners, and prevent the effusion of blood. Such was the duplicity and cold blooded treachery of Innocent.

In the meantime, the forces were organized, the standards were unfurled, and the knights and barons, at the head of their vassals, commenced the work of desolation. Smoking towns and villages and the bleeding bodies of their unhappy victims, marked the progress of their invasion. In the year 1209, about the middle of the month of July, Montfort appeared with his immense host before the gates of Beziers. Raymond, aware of the impossibility of defending the city, supplicated Arnold, the pope's legate, to spare the innocent. "You must defend yourselves," replied Arnold, "for no mercy can be shown; abjuration of your faith, or the sword, are your only alternatives." "We will lose our lives," said the besieged, "before we abjure our faith. The pope can destroy our bodies; but we will not deny Him, who has power to destroy both soul and body in hell. Our faith is in Christ and his righteousness."

Beziers was taken by the besiegers. The leaders wished to spare the papists who were within its walls. "How shall we distinguish our friends from our enemies?" asked the barons and knights, "Destroy them all," said the pope's legate, "the Lord will know his own." The gates were forced open; and one hundred thousand bloody murderers, with the cross upon their breasts, and the drawn sword in their hands, poured through their narrow passages, and commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants. As awful, and even as incredible as the narration of these bloody transactions appears to be, we are assured by the most undoubted testimony, that not a living soul escaped. Seven thousand dead bodies were counted in one of the churches. The streets were strewn with the slain, and every dwelling exhibited the same scene of desolation. Sixty thousand persons of all ages and sexes, were thus put to the sword. The torch was applied to the buildings; and the whole city was consumed to ashes. Raymond had retreated from Beziers before its capture; and fortified himself in the strong battlements of Carcassone. Thither the victorious army marched with an increased force of three hundred thousand men. Some authorities have estimated the number at five hundred thousand.

Raymond was himself, a papist ; but he defended to the last extremity, his subjects of a different faith ; who, he assured the legate, never did wrong intentionally to any one, and from their fidelity to him, he was resolved never to desert them. These noble sentiments but excited the relentless ferocity of Arnold. Raymond well knew, from the recent fate of Bezieres, that nothing could be expected from the mercy of the besiegers. " He therefore, urged the inhabitants to defend themselves like men, and to recollect, that both their lives and the free exercise of their religion was at stake ; pledging himself that he would never forsake them in so honorable a cause, as was that of defending themselves against their common enemies, who, under the mask of dissembled piety, were in effect nothing better than thieves and robbers."

Encouraged by these cheering assurances, the besieged defended themselves with a resolute spirit. The suburbs of the city were reduced to ashes, and all of the inhabitants indiscriminately slaughtered. But in the attempts to subdue the fortress, thousands of the crusaders were destroyed. The ground was covered, and the ditches were filled with their dead bodies. But successful resistance to the end was evidently impossible. The legate was persuaded by the king of Arragon, to propose to the earl of Toulouse terms of capitulation. Fearful of disregarding the suggestions of the king, but resolved at the same time not to permit his victims to escape his grasp, he offered to the earl such conditions as he could not suppose would have been acceded to ; conditions truly characteristic of a representative of Innocent. " That the earl himself, and twelve others with their baggage, might leave the city unmoles- ted. That the inhabitants, men, women, maidens, and children, should come out without so much as their shirts or shifts on, or the smallest covering to hide their nakedness." These conditions of surrender were peremptorily rejected by Raymond.

Baffled in all his attempts to reduce the fortifications by force, and thirsting for the blood of his devoted victims, Arnold resorted to a stratagem. Raymond was invited to a personal interview with him, under a sacred pledge of safe conduct back to the city. The pretended object was a negotiation of peace. The plot succeeded ; and Raymond was detained as a prisoner. The information of this treachery filled the minds of the besieged with consternation, and despair. Such was their condition, when in hopeless despondency, a secret subterranean passage was discovered, leading from the citadel to a distance of nine miles into the country, terminating at the castle of Caberet. Through this the inhabitants escaped ; and dispersed themselves through whatever sections they expected to receive protection. Disappointed by the escape of his prey, the legate took four hundred of his prisoners, and satiated his vengeance by committing them to the flames. Carcassone was taken, with all its wealth, as the property of the Church. The territor-

ies of Raymond were given to the earl of Montfort. From this city the crusaders proceeded to Castres; and having exercised the cruelties there, which marked their footsteps wherever they marched, continued their work of devastation, burning the towns and destroying the inhabitants. Some of their prisoners were buried alive, and others burnt. "This crusade," says Hallam, "was prosecuted with every atrocious barbarity which superstition, the mother of crimes, could inspire. Languedoc, a country for that age, flourishing and civilized, was laid waste by these desolaters; her cities were burnt; her inhabitants swept away by fire and the sword. And this was to punish a fanaticism ten thousand times more innocent than their own, and errors which, according to the worst imputations, left the laws of humanity and the peace of social life unimpaired." Such were the events of the campaign of the year 1209.

The earl of Montfort, in the following year, resumed his work of devastation and slaughter with an army of fresh recruits. His first act was to violate a treaty he had made in 1209, with Raymond Roger, the count of Foix; (a province of France at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains.)

Fire and the sword left appalling vestiges of their progress. Castles and towns were burnt; and the inhabitants who could not escape their pursuit, fell victims to their diabolical zeal. Lavour was burnt, and its governor, Aymerick, hung. Men and women were alike the objects of their cruelties. The sister of Aymerick, was thrown alive into a pit, and overwhelmed with rocks. Carcum submitted to their arms; and there sixty were put to death. Pulchra Vallis, a flourishing city near Toulouse, was taken; and four hundred Albigenes were burnt. Castres de Termes, was seized; and Raymond de Termes, was confined in a dungeon, where he died; his wife, sister, and a virgin daughter, were burnt at the same stake; and many ladies of noble families shared the same fate as heretics. Having devastated the whole country as they pursued their conquests, they at length arrived at the city of Minerva, on the confines of Spain. So thoroughly reformed was this place, that it was remarked of it, that "No mass had been sung in it for thirty years." After a siege of seven weeks, it capitulated, and surrendered at discretion to the crusaders. Montfort having a large fire kindled, called upon the inhabitants to abjure their faith. "We have renounced the church of Rome," said these martyrs, "and neither death nor life will make us abandon the opinions we have embraced." One hundred and eighty men and women were instantly thrown into the blazing pile. "These," said the writer on the Albigenian persecutions, "died steadfast in the truth, praising God that he had counted them worthy to suffer death for the Redeemer's sake."

When the castle of La Vour was taken, Montfort besought the crusaders to take the inhabitants prisoners, that "the priests of the living God might not be deprived of their promised joys." A monkish writer of these occurrences, which he witnessed, says "The noble count (Montfort) delivered over to the priests the innumerable heretics that the castle contained, whom they burned alive with the utmost joy."

But the heart sickens at the recital of such deeds of brutal cruelty. "The time cometh," said our Savior to his disciples, "that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service. And these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor me." The counts of Toulouse, and of Foix, thus driven out of their cities, collected their forces, and for a time successfully opposed the progress of Montfort; but at the battle of Muret, near the Garonne, they were signally defeated, and their troops were routed with a dreadful slaughter. This desperate struggle of the Albigenses in 1213, seemed to be their last effort to recover their religious rights.

"The slaughter had been so prodigious," says Sismondi, "the massacres so universal, the terror so profound, and of so long duration, that the popish church appeared to have completely obtained her object. The worship of the reformed Albigenses had every where ceased. All teaching was become impossible. Almost all the doctors of the new church had perished miserably." The persecution was arrested for the want of objects. The council of Lateran, in 1215, awarded to the earl of Montfort, all the territories belonging to Raymond; and he received them from the hands of Innocent. The quiet which followed, encouraged the dispersed Albigenses to return to their former abodes. But they did not long enjoy their ancient seats unmolested. A gathering storm soon apprized them of their danger. "Rome was not yet drunk with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus."

In the year 1218, the war of extermination commenced with renewed vigor. Honorius III., had succeeded Innocent; and in the second year of his pontificate, he published his bull of excommunication against the Albigenses. "We excommunicate," said Honorius, "all heretics of both sexes, and of whatever sect, with their favorers, receivers and defenders, &c." The castle of Marmande, was taken in the following year. By a perfidious violation of the treaty of surrender, through the persuasions of the bishop of Saintes, all the inhabitants, men, women and children, amounting in number to five thousand persons were cruelly massacred. The city of Toulouse, the capital of Languedoc, was the next object of the crusaders, or pious pilgrims, as they were called by the papal writers.

The pope's legate made a solemn asseveration, that "In the said Toulouse should remain, neither man, woman, boy, nor girl; all

should be put to death, without sparing old or young; and in all the city there should not remain one stone above another, but all should be demolished and thrown down." At the siege of this city, the earl of Montfort was killed. The besiegers were discomfited, and were compelled to retreat with precipitation. In the year 1222, Raymond died. He was succeeded by his son, Raymond VII. Amalric, the son of Montford, inherited the territories of his father, and succeeded him in the command of the papal armies. The war was conducted by these two leaders with various and doubtful success. Louis VIII., surnamed the Lion, ascended the throne of France in the year 1223. So that in this year there was an entire change of commanders on both sides. The war was, notwithstanding, carried on with unabated vigor. Raymond obtained several triumphs over Amalric; and Honorius, alarmed at the unfavorable change of events, called upon Louis, with the most flattering promises, to take up arms in defense of the Church. In willing obedience to this mandate, Louis, who was not less a fanatic than the abbot of Cisteaux, took up the cross, and appeared at the head of the papal forces. In June, 1226, he closed his career of victories by the capture of Avignon. On the surrender of that city, after a siege of three months, the cruelties inflicted on the inhabitants were of a similar character to the acts of barbarity, which popery has invariably displayed when triumphant over its enemies. The besieged had suffered from disease and famine; and submitted to the superior force of Louis, when resistance could no longer be effectual. Favorable conditions were offered by the pope's legate; but when the gates were opened the whole army of the crusaders rushed in, contrary to the stipulations of the surrender. The miserable inhabitants, worn out by fatigue, and enfeebled by disease and starvation, were bound in fetters, and large numbers of them were put to death. The city was given up to the soldiery. The walls were demolished; and ruin and desolation pervaded its streets.

Louis died not long after he had reduced both the provinces of Languedoc and Avignon; and his son, who is known in history as St. Louis, succeeded to the kingdom at the age of eleven years.

The Albigenses made but a feeble resistance after these disasters. They were from the fall of Avignon, more the objects of persecution than an enemy in the field. The regency of France, during the minority of Louis IX., was intrusted to his mother, Blanche of Castile. By her address and firmness, the interests of the kingdom were ably and successfully conducted. Raymond, overwhelmed by the regal forces, and pressed on all sides, was compelled, in the year 1229, to cede to Louis, the greater part of Languedoc, with the reversionary right of the remainder on the failure of his descendants.

Whilst the popish armies were thus from year to year pursuing their victories over the forces of the Albigenses, destroying their

towns and villages, the inquisitions established in Languedoc, were not less active with their instruments of torture and death. "Independent of those who fell by the edge of the sword, or were committed to the flames by the soldiers and magistrates, the inquisition was constantly at work, from the year 1206 to 1228, and produced the most dreadful havoc among the disciples of Christ. Of the effects occasioned by this infernal engine of cruelty and oppression, we may have some notion from this circumstance, that in the last mentioned year, the arch-bishops of Aix, Arles and Narbonne, found it necessary to intercede with the monks of the inquisition, to defer a little their work of imprisonment, until the pope was apprised of the immense numbers apprehended, numbers so great, that it was impossible to defray the charge of their subsistence, or even to provide stone and mortar to build prisons for them. The inquisitors were directed, as to those who are altogether impenitent and incorrigible, or concerning whom you may doubt of their relapse or escape, or that, being at large again, they would infect others, you may condemn such without delay."

It has been estimated, from very credible data, that not less than one million of the Albigenes were sacrificed by popish cruelty during these persecutions; terminated, or rather suspended, in the year 1229. "These sectaries," says Hume, "though the most innocent and inoffensive of mankind, were exterminated, with all the circumstances of extreme violence and barbarity."

It was against these obstinate and perverse heretics, that the council of Toulouse, in 1229, prohibited laymen from reading or publishing the sacred Scriptures. Such was the issue of this exterminating warfare; continued with little intermission for a quarter of a century. The Albigenes were overcome, by overwhelming numbers, and the untiring zeal of their enemies. They were driven out of the fair valleys of southern France; but they were not exterminated. The Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Cevennes, afforded them a refuge from the power of Rome. Into these mountain recesses they retired; and preserved their religion, and enjoyed liberty of conscience. They were dispersed over Europe; and even in Rome itself, in the year 1231, history informs us, numbers were arrested and burnt. In 1232, Gregory IX., wrote to the emperor Frederick, "that the Catharines, Paterines, Poor of Lyons, and other heretics, formed in the school of the Albigenes, had appeared in Lombardy and the two Sicilies." Frederick, at the solicitation of Gregory, issued an edict, commanding "All judges immediately to deliver to the flames every man who should be convicted of heresy by the bishop of his diocese; and to pull out the tongues of those to whom the bishop should think it proper to show favor, that they might not corrupt others."

Gregory, encouraged by the obsequiousness of Frederick, sent into Germany, Conrad of Marburg, as his inquisitor. This was

the first attempt to introduce into the empire this detestable engine of papal cruelty. But such was the brutal barbarity of this representative of the successor of St. Peter, that the populace, in the fury of their anger, rose up against him and put him to death.

About this time, the inquisition was introduced into Arragon, Spain. In that country, it continued to flourish for many centuries, and is probably not even at the present day entirely abolished.

Throughout this century, the Romish church appears to have directed all its efforts to the suppression of the Albigensian doctrines, and the extermination of that sect. In these it succeeded, if not effectually, so far as to disorganize their churches. Their pure and spiritual doctrines still lived, and were widely disseminated over Europe; and, with those of the Vaudois in Piedmont, were the *nuclei* of the religious principles of the sixteenth century. Rome destroyed the body, but it had no power over the soul of the Albigensian church.



CHAPTER X.

IN the beginning of this century, Boniface VIII., occupied the pontifical seat. Philip IV., surnamed the Fair, was the reigning sovereign of France; and Albert I., son of Rodolph, of the house of Hapsburg, was emperor of Germany. Edward I., was the English monarch.

The century was ushered in by a warm controversy between the pope and the kings of England and of France, on the spiritual and temporal rights of the Church. The question which gave rise to this, was that of the power in the civil authority to impose taxes upon the clergy. Edward appears to have exercised this sovereign prerogative without much molestation by Boniface. The ecclesiastics were impatient under the frequent and exorbitant subsidies which they were required to pay; and upon their refusal to comply with these exactions, their property was forcibly seized and confiscated to the crown. The pope's bull forbidding them to submit to the taxations of the government did not intimidate the king from enforcing his measures; and the contributions were made, but not without complaint.

With Philip, however, the pontiff contested this right with more promptness and decision; and the contest was carried on between them, with an apparent determination on each side, to maintain their respective claims. The imprisonment by the king of the pope's legate, for disrespectful conduct, was the circumstance which seems to have occasioned the open rupture between them. Boniface's bull,

entitled "Clericis laicos," issued some years previous to this event, forbidding the clergy to pay any tribute to their respective governments without his consent, had been disregarded both in England and France. The violation of the sacred privileges of a legate, was seized by him as offering an advantageous ground for renewing the controversy with success. Accordingly he addressed a letter to Philip in the following laconic language: "Boniface, bishop and servant of the servants of God; to Philip, king of France, "Fear God, and keep his commandments. We would have you to know that you are subject to us, both in things spiritual and temporal; and we declare all those to be heretics who believe the contrary." This papal missive was not regarded by the king, and another was dictated, in a more imperative tone, and more definite as to the extent of the papal jurisdiction. "God hath established us over kings and kingdoms, to pluck up, to overthrow, to destroy, to scatter, to build, and to plant, in his name, and by his doctrine. Do not allow yourself to be persuaded that you have not a superior, and that you are not subject to the head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He that thinks thus is a fool; and he that obstinately maintains it is an infidel, separated from the flock of the good shepherd." Philip, not intimidated by this haughty and menacing language, replied to the epistle of Boniface with a becoming spirit; and ordered his bull¹ to be publicly burnt in Paris. It was on this occasion, that he convened in a legislative assembly the three orders of his kingdom; and this was the first meeting of the states-general, or the nobility, the clergy, and the people.

The decided measures of the king were sustained by the assembly; each estate declaring unequivocally against the temporal pretensions of the pontiff. A council was convened in Rome, and that famous constitution,² which has already been alluded to, was published by Boniface. In this he asserted, "That Jesus Christ had granted a two fold power to his church, or in other words, the spiritual and temporal sword; that he had subjected the whole human race to the authority of the Roman pontiff, and that whoever dared to disbelieve it, were to be deemed heretics, and stood excluded from all possibility of salvation." The next step taken by Boniface, was to excommunicate Philip, and offer the crown of France to the emperor Albert. This was assuming at once, not only to destroy, but to build. Martin IV., in 1282, had offered the crown of Arragon to Charles of Valois. The power of deposing monarchs had been frequently exercised with effect by the popes; but few instances are mentioned in history of their having success-

¹This bull was entitled "*Ausculda filii.*"

²Entitled "*Unam sanctam,*" and is recorded in the Corp. Jur. Canon. Extract. Commun. "Uterque est in potestate ecclesie, spiritalis, scilicet gladius et materialis. Sed is quidem pro ecclesia, ille vero ab ecclesia exercendus; illo sacerdotis, is manu regum ac militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis, &c., &c."

fully attempted to substitute one prince for another, in violation of the established rules of succession. Another measure of coercion was not yet resorted to, to place the kingdom of France under an interdict, and thereby to absolve his subjects from their allegiance. Whilst affairs were thus approaching a crisis, an emissary of the king went into Italy, and with the assistance of the family of the Colonnas, seized the pontiff. In consequence of the violence inflicted on his person, and the mortification of feeling from the indignities he suffered, Boniface died soon after.¹

Although the powers of the popes may be said to have reached their fullest extent at this period, we may now date the commencement of their decline. The superstitious veneration which had prevailed among all classes of men for ages past, had begun for some time previously to be diminished. As the public mind became more enlightened, the false pretensions of popery were discerned, exposed, and at length disregarded. The princes who occupied the three most powerful thrones in Europe, in the beginning of this century, maintained their respective prerogatives with firmness. The successor of Albert, Henry VII., of the house of Luxemburg, vindicated his claims by the sword, and even imposed a tribute on all the States of Italy. The energetic reign of Edward III., commenced in 1327. Clement V., removed from Rome to Avignon in 1309. These were prominent causes which were calculated to check the usurpations of the popes, and to weaken their pretensions. But there were other causes; some of which have been referred to, in the history of the preceding century.

Whilst a general inquiry after truth, the cultivation of literature and philosophical investigations, were perceptibly developing the powers of the mind, and producing a favorable change in the morals and the intellectual character of society; the clergy alone, including the head of the Church, continued to retrograde, and to descend still deeper into the abyss of immorality and vice.

"The governors of the Church," says Mosheim, "from the highest to the lowest orders, were at this period, addicted to vices peculiarly dishonorable to their sacred character. Our silence would be inexcusable, since the flagrant abuses that prevailed among them were attended with consequences equally pernicious to the interests of religion and the well being of society." Boniface had

¹Dante, in his Vision of Hell, represents Nicholas III., as exclaiming when he saw him, supposing him to be Boniface—

Ha! already standest there?
 Already standest there, O Boniface!
 By many a year the writing play'd me false.
 So early dost thou surfeit with the wealth,
 For which thou fearest not in guile to take
 The lovely lady, and then mangle her? *Canto. 19th.*

"He entered the pontificate like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog."
Gibbon.

obtained the pontificate by bribery. Having persuaded the virtuous Celestine, whose virtues had made him odious to the clergy, to abdicate the papal throne, he procured his own election by the infamous crime of Simony. The first act of his administration was the imprisonment of his predecessor, a man of irreproachable morals, of evident sanctity, and advanced in life. His whole career was one of insatiable avarice, and the most indomitable ambition. After his death, Benedict XI., reigned for the short term of nine months; and died from the effects of a poisonous draught. His successor Clement V., who had been the arch-bishop of Bourdeaux, received the suffrages of the electoral college, through the influence and machinations of the king of France.

The revocation of all the bulls published by Boniface against Philip, by the timid and cautious Benedict, was a severe blow to the temporal authority of the popes. The Christian world beheld with amazement the triumph of a prince over the head of the Church, at a period of its highest pretensions. The superstitious dread of an excommunication thundered from the chair of St. Peter, was weakened; for that thunder was now heard to roll harmlessly over the head of one who had dared to defy its powers. Popery for the first time receded, and that single step of retrocession, proved that it was neither infallible, nor invincible. The next fatal error was the removal of the papal court to Avignon. This was, however, both a cause and a consequence of its weakness.

The civil commotions which disturbed the peace of Rome, and the dangers to which the popes were exposed by the contending factions in the city, had frequently compelled them to reside, unwilling exiles from the Vatican, in the more quiet and retired cities of Italy. The dissensions which prevailed in the twelfth century, and the acts of personal violence committed by the excited populace against the vicars of Christ, have been adverted to in the history of that period. It is certain that the dignity of the pontiffs was less respected in the capital, than in the distant provinces under the jurisdiction of the Romish see. "Though the name and authority of the court of Rome were so terrible in the remote countries of Europe, which were sunk in profound ignorance, and were entirely unacquainted with its character and conduct; the pope was so little revered at home, that his inveterate enemies surrounded the gates of Rome itself, and even controlled his government in that city; and the ambassadors, who, from the distant extremity of Europe, carried to him the humble, or rather abject, submissions of the greatest potentate of the age, found the utmost difficulty to make their way to him, and to throw themselves at his feet." (Hume.) No traces of the ancient republican features of the government remained. The titles of senator and consul occasionally occur in its history; but they were distinctions, without the appendages of office and power. The præfect, who united in his person the char-

acters and prerogatives of a civil as well as a criminal judge under the emperor Constantine and his successors, had dwindled down to the officer of a municipality. It was the custom, not only in Rome, but in many of the Italian cities, to call to the civil administration of affairs, a foreigner of reputed worth, who exercised a kind of magisterial jurisdiction for a limited period, to whom was given the title of senator. But this was abolished by Nicholas III., and the title, as well as the office, was invested in the reigning pontiff. There seems to have been in the fourteenth century, no department in the civil government of the city, distinct from the ecclesiastical, with power to control and administer its internal affairs. The rival families of Colonna and Ursini—the former, the representative of the Ghibeline party, and the latter that of the Guelphs—had acquired an entire ascendancy over the official rulers of the city. The rival influences which they exercised occasioned those frequent outrages and acts of violence, which disturbed the peace of Rome. The Colonnas were the constant and powerful enemies of the popes; and were the abettors of the seditious movements, which contravened their authority, and sometimes endangered their lives. From the tumults which these antagonist factions created, the pontiffs withdrew into Anagni, Perugia, Viterbo, and the adjacent cities. It was in Anagni, that Boniface was surprised by Nogaret, the emissary of Philip; and it was from the party of the Colonnas who accompanied him, that the pope received those personal indignities which occasioned his death.

In consequence then of these dissensions in Rome, and from the persuasions of the king, Clement removed his court from Italy to the banks of the Rhone. One of the immediate results of this measure was the ascendancy of the Colonnas, or the Ghibelines, in Italy, “insomuch, that they not only invaded and ravaged St. Peter’s patrimony, but even attacked the papal authority, by their writings. This caused many cities to revolt from the popes; even Rome itself was the grand source and fomentor of cabals, tumults, and civil wars. The laws and decrees sent thither from France, were publicly treated with contempt by the common people, as well as by the nobles.”

Before we proceed to notice the events which are properly comprised in the general history of the Church, those connected with the particular succession of the several popes, who reigned in this century, should be first adverted to.

After the death of Clement, in the year 1314, the see remained vacant two years; and the Church, as it had frequently before, presented a singular prodigy, a vast body and huge limbs without a head. The cardinals, now being principally French, supported the pretensions of a candidate of their own nation. The electoral college was thus distracted by two contending factions; and the election of a successor was protracted by the cabals and the in-

trigues of the parties until the year 1316. The cardinal bishop of Porto, was finally chosen, and assumed the title of John XXII. The same difficulty occurred in 1334; and nearly a year had expired, after the death of John, before the vacancy was filled by the choice of the cardinal of St. Prisca, who is known in the calendar as Benedict XII. In the year 1370, a French ecclesiastic was elevated to the papal chair in Avignon. No dissensions had disturbed the conclave of cardinals since 1334, and Gregory XI. succeeded to the pontificate. This pontiff returned to Rome in 1376, or sixty-seven years after Clement V. had removed his court to Avignon. This period, however, is generally supposed to have been seventy years; and was by the Italians, in derision, entitled the Babylonish captivity.

Gregory was persuaded to this measure by Catharine, a virgin of Sens; who, professing to be endowed with the spirit of prophecy, and to be moved by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, so wrought upon the mind of her spiritual father, that he assented. But his reception in Rome by the people, who treated him with the grossest indignities, determined him to return to Avignon; which he was preparing to do, when death put an end to all of his worldly plans and expectations in 1378.

The death of Gregory, and the efforts to fill the vacant chair, were accompanied by dissensions in the electoral college; and produced that "great *schism*¹ of the West," as it has been termed in ecclesiastical history, which was not healed until the accession of Martin V., in the year 1419. Thus was the Church, one and indivisible, distracted, and torn by contending factions, for more than forty years. Twenty-two cardinals composed the electoral college. Sixteen of these assembled in conclave; the remaining six were at Avignon. The arch-bishop of Bari, was elected; was adored, invested and crowned; and assumed the title of Urban VI. This election was hastened by the tumultuous populace without; who

¹This term, taken in a strictly scriptural sense, has been misapplied by the Churches generally, both Protestant and papal. It occurs in three instances only in the Scripture of the New Testament. In the first epistle to the Corinthians, Paul says, 1st chap. 10th verse. "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions (in the original *schisms*,) among you." And in the 11th chap. 18th verse, "For first of all, when ye come together in the Church, I hear that there be divisions (*schisms*) among you, &c." And in the 12th chap. 25th verse, "That there should be no *schism* in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another." In the first, Paul explains his meaning by remarking, "For it hath been declared unto me—that there are *contentions* among you." In the second, he expressly alludes to their conduct at the Lord's Supper. In the third, he addresses them as members of one body; and intimates that, not having the same care one for another, as the members of the natural body have, is the *schism* which he has mentioned. *Schism*, therefore, in a scriptural sense, is not a *separation* or *withdrawal* from the Church. The motive for doing this, as from apostacy, for instance, from spiritual faith, might make it sinful. If the object be, to unite with another orthodox Christian Church, the withdrawal is not *schism*.

insisted, by threats and clamors, upon the choice of an Italian. The eleven French cardinals who voted, would have preferred one of their own nation; but they were intimidated by the mob; and acquiesced in the choice. Urban was arrogant and overbearing; and became odious to the electors themselves; who soon after withdrew from Rome to Fondi, and there formally elected Robert, count of Geneva, as the successor of Gregory. He was known as Clement VII. They alledged, that their votes had been given to the arch-bishop of Bari, under coercion, and in obedience to the imperative demands of the people.

Urban remained in Rome; Clement established his papal court at Avignon. France, Spain, Scotland, Sicily and Cyprus, acknowledged Clement as the legitimate successor of St. Peter; the other European states adhered to Urban as the true apostolic vicar of Christ. From their respective thrones, these ghostly fathers thundered against each other, the most bitter anathemas. The curses from Mount Ebal were not re-echoed by blessings from Gerizim. A question arises which must be submitted to the tribunal of the Casuist: whether the constraint imposed by the intimidations of the populace ought not to have vitiated the election in Rome? "The conclave," says Gibbon, "was intimidated by the shouts, and encompassed by the arms of thirty thousand rebels; the bells of the capitol and St. Peter's rang in alarm; Death, or an Italian pope! was the universal cry; the same threat was repeated by the twelve bannerets or chiefs of the quarters, in the form of charitable advice; some preparations were made for burning the obstinate cardinals, and had they chosen a transalpine subject, it is probable that they would never have departed alive from the Vatican.—The same constraint imposed the necessity of dissembling in the eyes of Rome and of the world; the pride and cruelty of Urban presented a more inevitable danger; and they soon discovered the features of the tyrant, who could walk in his garden and recite his Breviary, while he heard from an adjacent chamber, six cardinals groaning on the rack." It is even to the present day a controverted question, which of those two claimants should have been considered the legal possessor of the papal throne. But to Protestants it is one altogether devoid of interest; who very properly view the whole system of popery, as founded on fraud, and perpetuated by iniquity, and the pretended apostolic succession as a mere figment of the brain, with which the true churches of Christ are no more concerned, than they should be with the royal race of the Sophis of Persia, or the Mohammedan succession in the empire of the Ottomans.

Some of the writers who have transmitted to us a history of these events, represent the superstitious and deluded papists of the time, as exceedingly perplexed, as to which of those pretended vicars of Christ they should reverence as their ghostly father, be-

lieving, in their ignorance, that the gates of heaven were closed against all who did not maintain an intimate and spiritual union with him to whom the keys had been intrusted.

In the year 1389 Urban died, and was succeeded by Boniface IX. Clement died in 1394, and Peter de Luna was elected by the French cardinals, who assumed the title of Benedict XIII. The schism was evidently as far from being healed as in the outset of the controversy, and it was equally evident, that neither of these pontiffs having received the majority of the electoral votes of the whole college of cardinals, as enacted by Gregory X. in a general council convened at Lyons in 1274, the chair of St. Peter could not be legally occupied by either; and was in fact, vacant. With a view of remedying this evil, if indeed it were one, a general wish was expressed, that both aspirants should withdraw their claims; and a new election be submitted to the conclave. All efforts to effect a compromise, in which kings, princes, and bishops, zealously engaged, were frustrated by the obstinacy of those ambitious prelates. This measure was suggested by the doctors of the Sorbonne, Paris. The Gallican church sustained this course; and in a council at Paris in 1397, when every plan of reconciliation, and of peace, had utterly failed, renounced solemnly its obedience to both pontiffs, and thus by a formal process declared the chair of St. Peter vacant; and the Church without a head. In the following year, Benedict was detained a prisoner in his palace at Avignon, by order of the king of France. Such was the state of the Romish church, at the close of this century.

These dissensions in the Church had a most happy influence in weakening the superstitious attachment of the people to the hierarchy of Rome; they accelerated the change in public sentiment in relation to the sanctity of its character; and prepared the minds of all classes of men, except the most bigoted of the clergy, for that religious revolution which a concurrence of circumstances now pointed to as a pencil of light. When we look back, from our own age, through the vista of six hundred years, to the events of the thirteenth century; and from that distant period, trace up the progress of the Reformation to its consummation in the sixteenth century; we cannot but admire the wisdom and power of Divine Providence, in the successive developments of moral agencies seemingly unconnected with each other, and yet all of them co-operating in the accomplishment of that sublime scheme of spiritual regeneration and gospel freedom, with which God had designed in his own proper time, to bless his afflicted people. Almost at the precise point of time when the papal power was elevated to its highest pinnacle, we can discern in the concurrent events, the sentence already gone forth from the throne of the Majesty on high, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further." When at the great Jubilee celebrated by Boniface, the most impious and the haughtiest

pontiff who had opposed and exalted himself above all that is called God, and who as God had sat in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God; a thousand of his lords drank wine before him; and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone; in that same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the altar upon the plaster of the Vatican, "God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it."

The removal of the papal seat to Avignon, was a measure unexpected by the Christian world, and most fatal to the Romish hierarchy. This was done by Clement V.¹ The residence of the popes out of Italy, for about seventy years, not only strengthened the factions in Rome opposed to them, and occasioned the waste of their Italian possessions, but these pecuniary resources having been thus diminished, they were compelled to resort to other extraordinary means of replenishing their coffers, commensurate with their extravagance and profusion of living. Extortion, and the vilest expedients to acquire wealth, formed their financial system.

The origin of these abuses may, however, be traced from an earlier period than this. They became more aggravated, from the necessity of the case, and therefore, called more imperatively for redress. As in the sixteenth century the extravagance of Leo X. led to a most palpable abuse of the prerogative of granting indulgences, which the popes had exercised for centuries before, and gave the first strong impulse to the spirit of reformation throughout Europe; so in this century, the abuses, and not the usurpation of papal privileges, may be said to have wrought a change in public sentiment.

The traffic in indulgences was a prolific source of complaint, and seems to have been one of the grievances which at this period produced a general feeling of discontent. Scandalous licenses of every description were publicly offered for sale, and were disposed of at exorbitant prices. The first year's income of a spiritual living, or Annates, were exacted with rigor from all ecclesiastical benefices, agreeably to a tariff, or table of imposts, enrolled in the records of the Roman chancery. By the concordat, between the

¹Dante has immortalized the vices of this pontiff in his Vision of Hell. He represents the popes as fixed with their heads downwards in certain apertures, so that no more of them than the legs appear without, and on the soles of their feet are seen burning flames. As a successor, who has left the apostolic chair, appears, he takes the place of one thus suspended who falls into the gulf below. Nicholas III. tells the poet that, "Midst them I also low shall fall, soon as he (Boniface) comes, for whom I took thee."

"But already longer time
Hath passed, since my soles kindled, and I thus
Upturn'd have stood, than is his doom to stand
Planted with fiery feet. For after him,
*One yet of deeds more ugly shall arrive,
From forth the west, a shepherd without law,
Fated to cover both his form and mine." *Canto 19th.*

*Clement V.

emperor Henry V. and Calixtus II., in the year 1122, when the vexed question of the right of investitures was settled; bishops and abbots were to be elected by the monks and canons; and in the event of the chapter not agreeing upon the choice of a candidate, the decision was reposed in the emperor; and the regalia were to be conferred by the ceremony of the sceptre, and not of the ring and crosier, as formerly. This interference in the spiritual affairs of the Church, was however, conceded to Innocent III., by the emperor Otho IV. This pontiff and his successors, contrived to bring within their jurisdiction the entire control of all benefices. A canonical disqualification in the person elected vitiated the proceedings of the chapter, and the pontiff pronounced him non-electus. The next assumption was, the right of supplying the vacancy by a simple nomination. Next followed the privilege of recommending to the bishop a favorite for preferment; and afterward the right of presentation; subsequently, the pontiff claimed the power of reserving benefices, or of nominating to them during the lifetime of the incumbents. John XXII., one of the Avignon popes, claimed the whole ground, and asserted his right to all the benefices in Christendom. The translation of bishops had appertained to the Metropolitan until the pontificate of Innocent III., when it was vested in the see of Rome. Thus insensibly arose the long train of spiritual prerogatives which became united under one head, and in this century, pluralities, annates, reserves, provisions, expectatives, &c., became familiar terms; and were highly offensive to the community at large. The holding of more than one benefice was restrained by the twelfth general council (4th of Lateran,) in 1215; but this was easily evaded by papal dispensation. In addition to these sources of revenue, of which the sale of indulgences formed not the least important part, may be mentioned the imposts on the clergy. Innocent III. imposed a tribute of one fortieth of moveable estate in 1199. Gregory IX. exacted a tax from the clergy in England, to protect his temporal interests in Italy. "By levies of money, and by the revenues of benefices, that pope is said to have drawn from the kingdom, the incredible sum of fifteen millions sterling." John XXII. levied a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues in France. The pontiff's expected from the arch-bishops at their investiture a donative; which, although not demanded as of right, was expected by one party, and seldom withheld by the other when the pallium was received.

Such is a brief sketch of the insatiable avarice of the popes in this century. John XXII. is said to have left in his coffers, at his death, eighteen millions of florins in specie; and plate, jewelry, crowns, &c., valued at seven millions more.¹ These exactions ex-

¹ Now Peter and John went up together into the temple at the hour of prayer. And a certain man lame from his mother's womb was carried, whom they laid daily at the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful, to ask alms of them that enter-

cited general indignation; and the people could no longer bear in silence, those unjust and onerous impositions. In the year 1350, the parliament of England passed the famous statute of *Provisors*.¹ "It declared all elections and collations free; and that, if any provision or reservation be made by the court of Rome, the king shall for that turn have the collation of such benefice, if it be of ecclesiastical election or patronage. This was to correct the abuses which had arisen from the spiritual usurpations of the popes. As an evidence of the extent to which these had been carried, it is stated, that some clerks enjoyed more than twenty benefices by the papal dispensation. It was however, soon after the enactment of this law, discovered that its provisions were inefficient barriers against the encroachments of the pontiffs, as they were successfully evaded by the ingenuity and artifice of the clergy in collusion with the court of Rome.

In the following reign (the 2d Richard,) the statute of *Præmunire*² was passed, by which, "all persons bringing papal bulls, for translation of bishops, and other enumerated purposes, into the kingdom, were subjected to the penalties of forfeiture and perpetual imprisonment." This, with the statute of *Provisors*, remedied effectually the evils of papal usurpations.

The first encroachment on the civil rights, in the kingdom of England, by the court of Rome, was in the reign of William the Conqueror. That prince peremptorily refused to do homage to Gregory VII. as his feudal lord; but from motives of policy he permitted his legate *a latere* to levy a taxation on his subjects.—This was called Peter-pence, from the circumstance of its being collected on the festival of St. Peter. He thus yielded the principle and the power, while he tenaciously clung to the shadow of this arbitrary pretension. The claim was in fact, founded upon the feudal system, which the popes were artful enough to engraft upon the ecclesiastical constitution. Hence arose the spiritual benefices in the Church, as analagous to the *beneficia* or estates held by the feudatories as voluntary gifts from their superiors. This spiritual fee was naturally accompanied with the incumbrances attached to the temporal estate with which it corresponded, as the ceremony

ed into the temple, who seeing Peter and John about to go into the temple, asked an alms. And Peter, fastening his eyes upon him with John, said, Look on us. And he gave heed unto them, expecting to receive something of them. Then Peter said, Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee; In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk." Acts iii.

¹ "A provisor is a person appointed by the pope, to a benefice before the death of the incumbent, and to the prejudice of the rightful patron." "Collation is the presentation of a clergyman to a benefice by a bishop."

² *Præmunire*, to fortify beforehand. The writ by which the prosecution or suit was instituted, was entitled a *Præmunire facias*, which was a corruption of the term *Præmoneri*, &c. Its object was to warn the defendant to appear and to answer in court the charges alledged against him.

of investiture, escheat, rent or tithes, oath of fealty, or canonical obedience, annates, or a year's income of the spiritual living, and innumerable taxations, in imitation of the aids and talliages paid by the vassal to his lord. The avaricious exactions, and progressive usurpations of the popes, as spiritual lords, have been adverted to.

To check the further progress of these grievous impositions, and to restore the rightful authority of the crown, Edward I. assumed the first decided stand, not only by taxing the clergy within his dominions; but by strengthening the statutes of *mortmain*, which restrained the acquisition of estates by ecclesiastical corporations; and declaring it an act of treason in a subject to procure a papal bull of excommunication against a citizen of the Realm. These measures of resistance against the usurpations of the Romish church, laid the foundation of the further legislative provisions enacted in the reign of Edward III., and of his successor, Richard II. Another statute was passed in the next century, under the usurper Henry IV., of the house of Lancaster, which declared all persons accepting *provisions* from the pope, subject to the penalties of a *Præmunire*.¹ Such were the efforts in England, to cast off these badges of servitude to a foreign potentate. Martin V. published a bull against this parliamentary act, which he declared to be "*execrabile statutum*," and commanded arch-bishop Chicheley to have it repealed.

In the twelfth century, the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, attempted to impose restraints on the alienation of beneficia or fiefs, either to the church or others, without the consent of the superior lords; but this wise and salutary provision was rendered nugatory by the paramount authority of the pontiffs. In the beginning of this century, thirty-five vacancies are said to have been filled within one diocese, by prebendaries not appointed by the regular patron. In the middle of the last, or thirteenth century, these spiritual usurpations and abuses had become so oppressive, that Louis IX. of France, to correct the evil within his kingdom, issued an edict, known as the Pragmatic sanction, securing to all patrons, the right of collating to benefices within their respective jurisdictions, as prescribed by the canons; to all churches the right of free election; and to the king and the national church, their previous exercise of the privilege of expressing their assent or disapproval, before any pecuniary exactions were levied by the pope. This restraining edict was, however, either evaded, or openly disregarded, by such arbitrary pontiffs as Clement IV., Boniface VIII., or Clem-

¹It will be observed that this term, first intended as the definition of a particular offense, or of the writ by which a prosecution was commenced for the alledged commission of that offense, was extended to penalties annexed to many other offenses, which had no relation to that original offense, and these were declared by the several statutes to be acts of *præmunire*. So that the term has been applied generally to offenses, punishable by confiscation and imprisonment, at the will of the sovereign.

ent V. This last assumed the broad and comprehensive ground, that "The pope, as universal patron, might freely bestow all ecclesiastical benefices." The edict of Louis has been considered, notwithstanding, the corner-stone of the franchises and immunities which the Gallican church has boasted of enjoying, independent of the court of Rome. The peculiar privileges which it more certainly acquired afterward, and still maintains, sprung out of the schism in the Romish church, in this and the following century. This, however, belongs more properly to the history of the sixteenth century.

It is evident, from these facts, that a general disquietude under the oppressions of the pontiff, prevailed in Europe at this period; and that there grew up a spirit of resistance, which spiritual tyranny and power could no longer intimidate or suppress. The crisis had arrived; and that tyranny had become so oppressive, that power so paramount to all political institutions, that one of two alternatives was submitted to the governments and potentates of Europe, either to succumb like vassals to the supremacy of spiritual Rome, and quietly subject their necks to the servile yoke, or to resist its usurpations, and claim as of natural right, their civil and religious liberty. In the conflict, England, which had been disgraced by the craven spirit and pusillanimity of her John, displayed in the 1st and 3d of her Edwards, a steadfastness of purpose, and a spirit of national independence, which enabled her at once to unnerve the arm of her oppressor, and to humble the lofty tone of the papal hierarchy. "When the holy see resented the proceedings of the English parliament, and Pope Urban V. attempted to revive the vassalage and annual rent to which king John had subjected his kingdom, it was unanimously agreed by all the estates of the realm in parliament assembled, that king John's donation was null and void, being without the concurrence of parliament, and contrary to his coronation oath; and all the temporal nobility and commons engaged, that if the pope should endeavor by process or otherwise, to maintain these usurpations, they would resist and withstand him with all their power."¹

As early as the seventh century, Boniface V. declared the sanctuaries of public worship, asylums for fugitives from justice. This was the introduction of clerical privileges. In the eighth century, Charlemagne permitted the bishops to have prisons. This vested in the church a temporal power, and enabled it to enforce its judgments by the aid of the civil magistrate. Indeed as early as the time of Constantine the Great, the officers of the government were ordered to enforce the judicial sentence of the bishops. To extend still further the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the court of Rome procured the forgery of an edict, which was interpolated in the

¹Blackstone's Commentaries.

Theodosian code, vesting in the episcopal tribunal, a power to decide all controversies even of a civil nature, if referred to voluntarily by either party. This fraudulent record was said to have been imposed upon Charlemagne as an authentic document. The ecclesiastical councils in the fifth century prohibited, under a penalty of excommunication, the bishops and priests from referring their cases in controversy to civil tribunals. Justinian in the century after, decreed that all matters in litigation, in which any of the clergy were defendants, should be decided by the diocesans; and by this emperor, bishops were declared not to be amenable to the civil tribunals. But about the close of the eighth century, the privileges of the clergy were secured by an imperial decree of Charlemagne, which declared, "That clerks of the ecclesiastical order who shall commit an offense, shall be tried by ecclesiastics and not by laymen." This restraint upon the secular arm, in relation to the clergy, did not restrain the latter from interfering in the temporal concerns of the civil government. At this period, an ecclesiastical council in England, undertook to decree that a prince of illegitimate birth could not ascend the throne. The privileges to which we have alluded were regarded, however, as personal exemptions, or as rights of a peculiar character; and not as vesting in the church any prerogatives independent of, or above the government of the state; to which indeed, in the course of time, they were by a stretch of arbitrary power extended. The emperors constantly exercised a control over the ecumenical councils, and over the elections of the pontiffs themselves, until a very late period. It may be inferred, that the powers of the bishops were thus greatly enlarged. In the ninth century, they had arrived at their highest elevation; and were invested with greater privileges and dignities, than they afterward enjoyed. Even as late as the twelfth century, in England, that ecclesiastical order claimed the right of deciding upon a question of legal accession to the throne. But from the tenth century, the popes gradually acquired an ascendancy, which has constantly since that period, been maintained over all orders of the Romish church.

The rise, progress, and consummation of this privilege of the clergy, form a remarkable feature of ecclesiastical history. What was conceded as a favor, and accepted with thankfulness, was in time, tenaciously retained as a right, and exercised under every circumstance of aggravation. "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm," were construed as conferring a divine right; and this, first attached to the highest order of the clergy, was at length extended to the most inferior officers in the church; and by a latitude of construction, eventually to such as were strictly layman. This was assumed to be a right so inherent and unalienable, that as Innocent III. affirmed, "the clergy could not be deprived of it with their own consent."

The privileges of the clergy, although commencing as early as the time of Constantine, were not universally established for several centuries after. The principle of ecclesiastical pre-eminence forms the basis of the constitutions of the Romish church. The language of the Decretals maintains, that "The laws of the civil power cannot reach the affairs of the Church, or the persons of the clergy, nor can they operate to the prejudice of their property; that the sacerdotal orders are to be honored, and not judged, by princes." From the admission of this principle, the persons of the clergy were not only esteemed sacred, but were exempt from all judicial process in the civil courts. Accompanying these personal immunities were the ecclesiastical tribunals, to exercise exclusive jurisdiction in all spiritual matters. Thus, in a short time after the admission of the principle, we find ecclesiastical courts established in almost all the states of Europe. It was not, however, until the reign of William, that they assumed in England, anything of a distinct form, and an organization separate from the civil tribunals. The withdrawal of spiritual causes from the secular courts, and the introduction of the canon law into the ecclesiastical courts, over which the bishops presided, as the rule of their decisions constituted the first important innovation in the judicial institutions of the Anglo-Saxons. Although the ancient law was restored by his son Henry I., it was again abrogated by his successor Stephen, through the influence of the clergy. At the accession of that usurper, in the year 1135, may be dated the firm establishment in that kingdom, of clerical exemptions from the secular arm, and independent spiritual judicatories. Henry II., by the constitutions of Clarendon, in 1164, endeavored to reduce the powers and privileges of the ecclesiastical orders within a narrower compass; but his efforts were defeated by the arrogance of Thomas Becket, arch-bishop of Canterbury, and the resolute resistance of the Pope, Alexander III. Henry was borne down by the superstitious ignorance of the times, and the example of his cotemporary, Louis VII. of France, who yielded to the exorbitant pretensions of the pope.

It is not within my design to describe the several ecclesiastical courts established in England; as a knowledge of their structure and prerogatives can be obtained from higher and better authorities. It may however, be remarked, that one of the objects of the constitutions of Clarendon, was to constitute the king, by the judicial tribunals of the nation, the highest judicatory in the kingdom, to whom appeals may be carried up from the prerogative court for final adjudication. But this was never accomplished until the reign of Henry VIII., in the sixteenth century, "when all the jurisdiction usurped by the pope, in matters ecclesiastical, was restored to the crown, to which it originally belonged." In the reign of Elizabeth, the court of the king's high commission in ecclesiastical causes, was established "to vindicate the dignity and peace

of the Church, (then Protestant,) by reforming, ordering, and correcting, the ecclesiastical state and persons, and all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offenses, contempts, and enormities." But the powers exercised by the commissioners in that reign, and those succeeding, were so arbitrary and oppressive, that the statute was repealed, and the court abolished, in the reign of Charles I.

To return from this digression to the ecclesiastical courts and the claims of the clergy. It was admitted that those of the clerical orders, distinguished by their dress and tonsure, were entitled to the *privilegium clericale*, or benefit of clergy. This privilege was soon extended to all who could read, as at that period, learning was confined altogether to that class of persons. This privilege exempted them from the jurisdiction of lay tribunals; but in England it extended to cases of felony only. It consisted in this, that a clerk, condemned by the civil tribunal, and claiming his privilege in arrest of judgment, was delivered over to the ecclesiastical court, for a new trial, or, as it was termed, his expurgation. Before this tribunal the culprit was seldom convicted; and this second trial was but a mockery of justice. Laymen who claimed this privilege, were branded in the thumb after their conviction, and then delivered over to the ecclesiastical court. Expurgation restored the accused, no matter what the nature of his offense might have been, to a new and innocent man. And thus, under this privilege, the clergy committed the most abominable crimes, and even murder, with entire impunity.

The ecclesiastical tribunals did not confine themselves to the adjudication of cases strictly spiritual. About the beginning of the twelfth century, they began to extend their authority beyond their prescribed limits; and from that period their usurpations were continued until they obtained almost an entire jurisdiction over all persons and things. They became courts of conscience, and in almost every controverted question, they assumed a right of decision. Contracts, whether matrimonial or otherwise, perjury, sacrilege, incest, usury, probate of wills, and the distribution of estates under them, &c., were all in time, brought within the sphere of their adjudication. By these courts, established in every state of Europe, and from which the only appeal was to the pope himself, the Romish church acquired a control over the persons and property of the subjects of the most powerful princes in Christendom. In the beginning of this century, the spiritual and the temporal domination of the pontiffs, was systematized and complete. Civil and religious liberty was a mere phantom. From the potentate to the lowest subjects, all were brought within the reach of the spiritual arm; none could escape the sentence which issued from the throne of the Vatican. But happily, events presaged a moral regeneration; and a new era of spiritual light and civil freedom had al-

ready commenced. We will here resume the general history of the Church.

During the pontificate of John XXII., who was raised to the papal throne after an interregnum of two years, a contest for the imperial throne, arose between Lewis of Bavaria and Frederick, duke of Austria. John, who maintained with his predecessors, that, "All disputes among princes were to be referred to the pope; that if either party refused to obey the sentence of Rome, he was to be excommunicated and deposed; and that every Christian sovereign was bound to attack the refractory delinquent, under the pain of a similar forfeiture," proceeded to excommunicate Lewis, who had vanquished his competitor, because he had presumed to exercise an imperial authority without having first obtained the papal sanction. This was disregarded by Lewis, and John pronounced against him a sentence of deposition, and declared the throne vacant. The haughty pontiff, who would have excited another civil war in Germany to sustain his ridiculous pretensions, was in his turn, denounced as a heretic by the victorious Lewis, and the chair of St. Peter was filled by Nicholas V., elected under the influence of the emperor. Nicholas retained his seat at Rome, whilst John resided at Avignon. After two years, Nicholas voluntarily resigned, and delivered himself to John, who, with base ingratitude, imprisoned him during the remainder of his life.

The heresy of which John was accused by the emperor, and described as his beatific vision, was the opinion advanced by him, that "The souls of the faithful, in their intermediate state, were permitted to behold Christ as man, but not the face of God, or the divine nature, before their re-union with the body, at the last day." This creed of the holy father, and infallible head of the Church, became a subject of animated controversy among the doctors, and at length was terminated by a formal condemnation of its orthodoxy. John, with his usual obstinacy, adhered to it until the close of his life, when, fearing that he would be deemed a heretic after his death, he consented to submit to the judgment of the Church; and by this compromise escaped, without in fact having recanted his opinion, the opprobrium which would inevitably have been attached to his memory. He made some amends however for his heretical notions, by ordering all Christians to add to their prayers the words, with which the angel Gabriel saluted the Virgin Mary, "Hail highly favored," &c.

This pontiff was engaged through the greater part of his reign in an angry controversy with the Spirituals of the Franciscan order. This seems to have commenced with an order, requiring them to lay aside their short, straight habits, with the small hoods. This dress distinguished them from the less rigid branch of Franciscans, called "The brethren of the community." They insisted that this particular habit had been adopted by their founder St. Francis,

who it appears, was directed immediately by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. This interference of the pontiff, therefore, was against the letter and spirit of the gospel, and was unauthorized, and as a matter of conscience, could not command their obedience. These miserable and ignorant fanatics, whose only offense appears to have been a superstitious attachment to their peculiar dress, an aversion to the comforts of life, and an obstinate refusal to comply with the requirement of the pope, were persecuted with envenomed rage. Their leader Delitiosi, was immured in a prison, where he died from the severity of his treatment, and four of his adherents were seized and burnt. This cruel and wicked execution exasperated the whole party of the Spirituals; and they boldly declared that John was unworthy of the pontifical office, and that he was the anti-Christ predicted of in Scripture. This heretical opinion brought down upon them a more relentless persecution. The inquisition, which was under the government of the Dominicans, their bitter enemies, was directed to pursue them with the vengeance of the insulted church, and they were every where arrested, and consigned to the torture and to the flames.

In vindication of their bigoted attachment to poverty, they insisted, that neither Christ nor his apostles ever exercised an absolute right of property over any thing they possessed. This aggravated their first offense. John was avaricious, and had amassed immense wealth by his extortions. This was deemed, therefore, a direct condemnation of himself. For this heresy, fresh fires were kindled, and new tortures were devised, to suppress a tenet which mother church pronounced "A pestilential, erroneous, damnable, and blasphemous doctrine, subversive of the Catholic (popish) faith." Thus persecuted with the extremest rigor, these innocent religionists fled to the dominions of Lewis of Bavaria, who extended to them his protection. From Munich they published their invectives against John. Among them were men of literary acquirements, such as Marsilius of Padua, Occam, Bonagratia, and others; who directly attacked, by their satirical writings, and by more labored treatises, the power and authority of the popes.

These events appear of little importance in the general history of the Church; but they obtain an interest from their connection with the occurrences of this century, which unquestionably advanced the progress of religious reformation. The Spirituals, as a body, do not deserve the title of witnesses of the truth; for they were not; but rather, witnesses of the gross errors, the corruptions, and domineering temper of popery. Although they certainly did not suffer persecution for the faith, their contests with John, exposed the fallacy of the papal pretensions, and weakened the superstitious reverence for the character and persons of the pontiffs. It was evident that a fatal blow had been inflicted on the Romish hierarchy. As one of the concurrent causes which produced the

Reformation in the sixteenth century, the controversy between John and the Franciscans could not with propriety, have been passed over in silence. Innumerable parties, whether properly or not, termed religious, arose in this century; such as the order of the Apostolic Clerks, the Barlaamites, the Flagellants, the Dancers, &c. &c., but neither their creed nor discipline was calculated to purify the Church.

In this century was introduced the festival to perpetuate the memory of the lance which pierced the side of our Savior, the nails by which he was fastened to the cross, and the crown of thorns which was put upon his head. Innocent V. is entitled to the honor of having, about the close of the last century, given the first suggestion to this absurd and superstitious ceremony. Benedict XII., not to be outdone by his predecessor, in wickedness and folly, instituted another to commemorate the wounds inflicted by the spear. This seems to have been suggested by the Franciscans, who asserted that Christ had impressed upon the sides of their founder, St. Francis, five marks, or stigmas, as representations of those he had received at the time of his crucifixion. This fabrication was not only countenanced by the popes, but they publicly maintained it by their bulls, which silenced all denial of its truth. The expression, Ave Maria, &c., in the prayers of the faithful, originated with John XXII. These facts are sufficient to show into what a corrupt state the Church had fallen; and how much a reform in its head and in all its members was absolutely required to rescue the last traces of piety and vital religion from entire obliteration. Popery was not only at war with spiritual matters, and laboring to efface the great truths of the gospel, but it armed itself against the intellectual efforts of the age. Asculanus, the physician of John XXII., and celebrated as a philosopher and mathematician, was delivered up to the inquisition for having exhibited some experiments in mechanics, which the ignorance of the time could not comprehend, and therefore imputed to the powers of witchcraft. Nothing proves more strongly the general corruption of morals, and the debased condition of the Church, than the unbounded influence which the mendicant friars exercised over all classes of men, except those orders of the clergy whose interests were injuriously affected by the control which those monks had acquired over the public mind. They occupied almost exclusively, the confessional chairs. A general belief prevailed that an association with those monastic orders, secured the favor of heaven. The dying injunctions of the religious, exacted a promise from their friends, that their bodies would be wrapped in the tattered garments of the mendicants, and deposited in their cemeteries. Bishops, clergy, and doctors, were arrayed in their opposition to them; but the popes held over them the shield of their protection. The Spirit-

uals only, who were the least corrupt of those orders, were little favored by their ghostly fathers.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

"The Alexians who constantly employed themselves about funerals, had their rise at Antwerp; at which place, about the year 1300, some honest, pious laymen formed a society. On account of their extraordinary temperance and modesty, they were styled *Moderatists*; and also *Lollards*,¹ from their attendance on funeral obsequies. From their cells they were termed "*Cellite Brethren*." These associations seem to have been actuated at first by motives of charity; and were organized for the purpose of discharging those duties to the sick and dying poor, which the clergy entirely neglected. In the obsequies of the dead, they were accustomed to chant a solemn dirge, and for this reason, they were called Lollards. As the term Beghard was applied to a person remarkable for piety, this sect was sometimes distinguished by that title. "In all the old records, from the eleventh century, these two words are synonymous." The members of this charitable and religious community, were particularly favored by the people; but by reason of their moral deportment, and exemplary piety, they were extremely odious to the clergy, and especially to the mendicant friars. Hence, a canon of Liege, referring to them, speaks of them as "Certain strolling hypocrites, who are called Lollards, or praisers of God," &c.

The religious tenets of the Lollards were better known from the professions of their most distinguished leader, Walter, a native of Mentz, on the Rhine. He is called by a cotemporary writer, Walter Lohareus, or Lolhardus. Whether he was the founder of this sect, is a controverted question, which appears not decided at the present day. The surname was given to him on account of his doctrines. Differing from the Romish church, he was called Lolhardus, or a Lollard, an epithet at that time of great antiquity. He was also called by some a *Beghard*, and by others, a *Minorite*.

Walter the Lollard, went to England in the year 1315. He there propagated his doctrines; and had many adherents. His followers in that country, were no doubt, called Lollards, from that title having been attached to him before he left Germany. He is mentioned, by some historians, as a barb or pastor of the Waldenses; which leaves the inference, that his religious tenets were similar to those of the Vandois. So far as those tenets have been

¹*Lollen*, signifies "to sing with a low voice," to which was added, as a termination, agreeably to high Dutch dialect, the syllable, *hard*, hence *Lollenhard*, and by contraction, *Lollhard*. Such is the derivation of the word *Lollard*. This was a term applied to many sectaries, having no connection in their tenets. Sometimes *Lollard* and *Beghard* were alike applied to the same sect, as terms of reproach. Mosheim.

transmitted to us, it appears that he rejected the sacrifice of the mass, extreme unction, penances for sin, and infant baptism. He maintained that Christ offered up once for all a full and sufficient sacrifice for the salvation of all believers; and that baptism was not essential to the salvation of infants, dissenting from the Romish church, which affirms, as a matter of faith, that all infants dying without baptism, are damned.

Walter returned to Germany; and in the year 1322, was burnt as a heretic, in Cologne. But his followers in England were persecuted with the utmost severity. "The Lollard's Tower," says a writer, "still stands as a monument of their miseries, and of the cruelty of their implacable enemies. This tower is at Lambeth palace, and was fitted up for this purpose by Chicheby, arch-bishop of Canterbury. The vast staples and rings to which they were fastened, before they were brought out to the stake, are still to be seen in a large lumber-room at the top of the palace; and ought to make Protestants look back with gratitude upon the hour which terminated so bloody a period."

Among the disciples of Walter, were the celebrated John Wickliffe and Sir John Oldcastle, better known in history as Lord Cobham.

Wickliffe was in his youth distinguished for talents and literary acquirements; and evinced an early attachment to theological studies. At the age of sixteen he was admitted commoner of Queen's College, Oxford. He passed through the several degrees in the University; and at the age of forty-eight, the degree of doctor of divinity was conferred upon him. By his assiduous study of the Holy Scriptures, and endowed with an intellect clear and comprehensive, he was enabled to maintain the great truths of the gospel against the combined attacks of the pontiffs and the doctors of the Church, and to establish those principles of religious liberty which formed the basis of the Reformation in the sixteenth century.—Wickliffe was born in the year 1324, and died at the age of sixty, in the reign of Richard II.

The statute of provisors passed in the year 1350; and the several parliamentary enactments in the reign of Richard II., restraining aliens from letting their benefices to farm; next, making them incapable of being presented to any ecclesiastical preferments; that, prohibiting the subjects of the king from accepting a living by any foreign provision; that, imposing severe penalties upon the introduction into the kingdom of any citation or excommunication from beyond sea, to defeat the operation of the preceeding legislative provisions; and lastly, that declaring that "Whoever procures at Rome, or elsewhere, any translations, proccesses, excommunications, bulls, &c., or other things, which touch the king, against him, his crown, and realm, and all persons aiding and assisting therein, shall be put out of the king's protection, and be subjected

to a *præmunire facias*," &c., were all measures against the abuses of the papal prerogatives arising from the dissemination of the principles of Wickliffe. "All ecclesiastical possessions," says a writer, "were marked for spoliation by the system of this reformer." It was not to be expected that the court of Rome would be long silent under these successful efforts to arrest its career of usurpations. The government of England assumed a firm and decided stand against the abuses which had arisen under the exercise of the exorbitant powers claimed by the Romish hierarchy; and to the principles triumphantly maintained by Wickliffe, this change of public opinion was justly attributed. He had attacked the vices of the Mendicant Friars, and of the monastic orders generally. These religious societies were endowed, not only with the tithes of the parishes, but with lands, manors, and extensive baronies. Pope Urban notified the king that he would summon him to Avignon, for his default in not paying the customary tribute, and rendering due homage for his kingdom; Wickliffe boldly maintained the independence of the realm, and sustained the king in his determination to resist such arbitrary and unfounded pretensions. He reproved the pride of the clergy; wrote against the rites and doctrines of the church of Rome; and at length in his public lectures directly attacked the authority of the popes. The papal bulls were published against the reformer, and a process instituted against him in the ecclesiastical court. But the influence of the duke of Lancaster, protected him from the grasp of his enemies; and although he was expelled from the University of Oxford, by the chancellor, he died in the peaceable possession of his parsonage at Lutterworth.

Wickliffe opposed the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the sale of indulgences, the sacrifice of the mass, the adoration of the host, purgatory, meritorious satisfactions by penance, auricular confession, the celibacy of the clergy, papal excommunications, the worship of images, the Virgin, and relics, and did not hesitate to declare that the pope of Rome was the anti-Christ mentioned in Scripture. Like the Lollards, he was opposed to infant baptism: and a popish writer referring to his writings, speaks of him as "One of the seven heads that came out of the bottomless pit, for denying infant baptism, that heresy of the Lollards, of whom he was so great a ringleader." He published, not long before his death, a translation into English, of the Holy Scriptures. In the following century, the council of Constance condemned the memory and opinions of Wickliffe by a solemn decree, and in the year 1428, his bones were dug up and publicly burnt."

Cotemporary with that great reformer, was Lord Cobham, who is said to have been, "the first noble author, and the first martyr in England, in the cause of the Reformation." He was a disciple of Wickliffe. He is distinguished in history for his noble and valiant spirit, and the opinion of his valor, joined to that of his hon-

esty and piety, secured to him universal popularity in England. His zeal in defense of the doctrines of Wickliffe, and of the measures of the government in opposition to the papal usurpations, rendered him particularly obnoxious to the clergy; and he was marked out by the arch-bishop of Canterbury, as a proper object of vindictive punishment. An inquisition of heresy was procured under the seal of the king; and resulted in a charge against Cobham of heretical and seditious doctrines. His offense was submitted to the king, (Henry V.) and the prelate petitioned, "in all humility and charity, that his majesty would suffer them, for Christ's sake, to put him to death." The king, sincerely attached to so brave a defender of his royal prerogatives, and of the kingdom, refused his assent to so summary a process; and endeavored by argument and persuasion to bring him back into the bosom of the Church. But Cobham was unshaken in his faith. "I ever was a dutiful subject to your majesty," he said, "and I hope ever shall be. Next to God, I profess obedience to my king. But as for the spiritual dominion of the pope, I never could see on what foundation it is claimed, nor can I pay him any obedience. As sure as God's word is true, to me it is fully evident, that he is the great anti-Christ foretold in Holy Writ." The king, fearful of the censures of the Church, permitted the arch-bishop to proceed against him. He was accordingly excommunicated, and delivered over to the secular power. After a confinement of six months in the tower, he escaped and fled to Wales. But he could not elude the vigilance of his pursuers. He was eventually taken, and condemned as a heretic and a traitor. "He was hung up alive, by the middle, with iron chains, on the gallows which had been prepared, under which a fire being made, he was burnt to death."

Whilst these events were transpiring in England, the principles of the Reformation were progressing on the continent. Huss, of Bohemia, had perused the writings of Wickliffe, and abjured the false doctrines of popery, and even before the death of that English reformer, there are evidences of the reformed religion having been deeply planted in Germany, through the instrumentality of his works. In his letter to Huss, written not long before his death, he says, "I rejoiced greatly at the brethren, coming to us from you, bearing testimony of you in the truth, and that ye walk in truth. I have heard how anti-Christ troubleth you, causing many and various tribulations to the faithful in Christ. And no wonder that such things should be done among you, since the law of Christ suffereth oppression from its adversaries over all the world; and from that red dragon with many heads, which John speaks of in the Revelation, that cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that she might be carried away of it." "As a good soldier of Jesus Christ, war in word and in deed; and recall into the way of truth as many as thou art able; because neither by erroneous and

deceitful decrees, nor by the false opinions and doctrines of anti-Christ, is the truth of the gospel to be kept in silence and in secret." "It is a great joy to me, that not only in your kingdom, but elsewhere, God hath so strengthened the hearts of some, that they suffer with pleasure, imprisonments, banishments, and even death itself, for the Word of God." The writings of Wickliffe were translated into the Slavonian tongue; and under the difficulties which then existed of circulating extensively the publications of the time, his doctrines were disseminated in almost every part of Europe. Huss communicated them from the pulpit, and in the Universities; his followers traversing the different provinces, extended a knowledge of the truth, drawn from this source; and a general spirit of inquiry was awakened.

The zeal and untiring efforts of Wickliffe, tempered by his cultivated understanding, and by an abiding faith in God, gave an impulse to the cause of religious liberty in Europe. The new doctrines, as they were called, were readily received by the people wherever they were preached, and a cotemporary writer gives this testimony of their extensive circulation at the close of the fourteenth century, that in England, "More than one half of the people became Lollards." The papists were, however, as zealous and as untiring in their efforts to suppress these widely spread heresies. The power of the government, notwithstanding the parliamentary provisions against abuses which grew out of the corruption of the clergy, was still subservient to the authority of the popes. The civil officers were commissioned to aid the Church in silencing those who had raised their voices against the popish doctrines. Edward III. himself, although he had firmly withstood the court of Rome in measures touching what he affirmed to be his royal prerogatives, empowered the magistrates to seize the persons and the writings of the Wickliffites or Lollards, as the reformers were called, and to imprison all who transcribed, sold, bought, or concealed their books. It is evident that the axe was not laid at the root of the tree; and the sovereigns of England seemed to have designed no more than to lop off those branches which had extended their arms with too luxuriant a growth. Lord Cobham was martyred in the following century; and in this, many distinguished patrons of Wickliffe, who had protected him from the grasp of the spiritual courts, preferred recantation to persecution. It was among the people, however, that the principles of religious reform acquired strength; and although silently, continued to extend.

As we have already observed, the doctrines of Wickliffe were early transplanted to the continent. The opposition of the English court to the measures of a radical change in religion, expelled from the island, numbers who adhered tenaciously to the new faith; and they carried with them their principles. The principal of Ed-

mund Hall, in the University of Oxford, Peter Payne, a man of cultivated mind, and of inflexible purpose, and who had distinguished himself in his opposition to the monastic orders, has the honor of having first propagated the doctrines of the great English reformer in Bohemia.

In tracing the progress of the Reformation in this age, we must not forget, in the history of the efforts of Wickliffe, in England, and of Huss in Bohemia, that ancient branch of the true Church, whose history we have already traced from the third to the present century. It is interesting to pursue these apparently disconnected efforts, from this period back to their undoubted origin from this great depositary of spiritual truth. Wickliffe was the reflector of the principles of Walter the Lollard. He was indeed, more worthy to have given name to the sect, as bishop Newton very justly remarks, for he was not only the honor of his own, but the admiration of succeeding times. Walter himself was called, "Pastor of the Waldenses," by Perrin, who wrote a history of the Church in the valleys of Piedmont. He was a native of Germany, or of its contiguous territory on the Rhine. The celebrated Peter Waldo, when driven out of Picardy by persecution, proceeded to Germany. In Alsace, and along the Rhine, his doctrines were extensively propagated. He passed through the cities of Mentz, the native place of Walter, and of Strasburg, and thence into Bohemia. The traces of his missionary labors were visible afterward, by the cruel slaughter of those who had adopted his religious tenets. Thus are we enabled, by undoubted historical facts, to follow back in the connected chain of events, the doctrines of Wickliffe in the fourteenth century, to their true source, the church of the Waldenses planted in Germany at the close of the twelfth. But it should be here observed, (as it might be erroneously inferred from what has been said,) that Bohemia is not indebted to the English reformer for the introduction of these religious principles. His writings undoubtedly gave additional strength to the advocates of the Waldensian faith; but it was already planted there. History informs us, that in the year 1315, the number of the Waldenses was estimated at not less than eighty thousand. These remarks will carry us back to that period at which the narration of the events connected with their history was concluded.

After the exterminating warfare which was carried on against the *Albigenses* in the last century, and which terminated in the year 1229, by their destruction or dispersion, that distinctive title disappears from the pages of history. The dissenters from the church of Rome, in France and elsewhere, are frequently, and indiscriminately denominated *Waldenses*, by the writers of that age. "The practice," says Robinson, "of confounding heretics of all kinds in one common herd, hath been an ancient custom with ecclesiastical historians, and it hath obscured history." The appellation of Al-

bigenses, whenever applied, seems to have been restricted to those dissenters particularly, who resided in the southern provinces of France, or the territory anciently known as Albigesium, or Narbonnese Gaul. From the middle of the thirteenth century, they were embraced with the other dissenters in France, Piedmont and elsewhere, under the general title of Waldenses. It has already been remarked that their religious tenets were essentially the same, although a distinction has been drawn by popish writers, to the prejudice of the former. They were accused of maintaining the doctrines of the Manichæans; but Bossuet acquits them of the charge of believing in the two principles, which was the most absurd and abominable feature of Orientalism. "I defy," says Allix, "the impudence of the devil himself, to find in their writings, the least shadow of Manichæism." A writer of the seventeenth century, thus quaintly remarks :

"What the sect of Geneva doth admit,
The Albigenes did commit."

The Albigenes who fled from the crusaders under the command of Simon, earl of Montford, sought a refuge in the mountains, and in the different States of Europe. "In 1213, they were numerous in Alsace and Germany. In the following year, they were thickly settled in the provinces of Arragon and Catalonia, having many churches organized, with their pastors, or bishops and deacons. In the year 1232, the inquisition was established in Arragon; which was instructed by pope Gregory IX., "To make diligent inquiry against heretics, and render them infamous, &c." "In 1229, they had spread themselves in great numbers throughout all Italy. They had ten schools in Valcamonica alone, which were supported by pecuniary contributions in all their societies, and which contributions were transmitted into Lombardy. About the year 1250, these sectaries, then designated as Waldenses, are said to have had flourishing churches in Albania, Lombardy, Milan, Romagna, Vincenza, Florence and Val Spoletine, and a few years after in Sicily." We have also authentic evidences of their migration, in the course of the thirteenth century, to Livonia, Sarmatia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Selavonia and Bulgaria; and of their churches being established in Philadelphia, and even in the city of Constantinople."

Thus under the mysterious providence of God, they returned to the regions in the Eastern provinces of Europe and into Asia, from which their ancestors, the Paulicians, had migrated more than two hundred years before.

From the period of the great immigration of the Paulicians into the Western States of Europe, in the eleventh century, the progress of the Reformation has been traced by historians under various denominations of Christians, differing from each other, it is true, in unimportant points of doctrines, but agreeing in their ab-

juramentum of the Romish church. The Paulicians, a branch of the most ancient dissenters from that church, were, after their recent settlement, variously designated as Albigeos, Catharists, Paterines, &c. After these sprung up the Petrobrusians, Henricians, Arnoldists, the Poor Men of Lyons, the Lollards, Wickliffites, &c., at successive periods. The Vaudois, the other great branch of ancient dissenters, tracing their origin back, as did the Paulicians, from the third century, retained their appropriate title. These two majestic streams, meandering, each in its respective channel, from that early period, united in the eleventh century, and formed that reservoir from which innumerable branches sprung in the three successive centuries. These in time lost their distinctive names; and received one common appellation, designating their common origin.

From the Paulicians and the Vaudois, may be traced the various denominations of Christian Churches, whose history has been but briefly sketched. From the thirteenth century to the sixteenth, ecclesiastical writers have transmitted to us, under the common title of Waldenses, their accounts of the numerous reformers who separated themselves from the hierarchy of Rome, and founded their several religious institutions on principles drawn directly from the word of God.

While the spirit of persecution raged in the southern provinces of France, the inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont, enjoyed the unmolested exercise of their religious privileges. The counts of Savoy,¹ were humane and tolerant in their government. "They indignantly rejected the repeated solicitations of priests and monks; and from the beginning of the thirteenth century, until the year 1487, a period of nearly three hundred years, peremptorily refused to disturb them. An effort was made to introduce the inquisition into Piedmont, but the proceedings in France had sufficiently opened the eyes of the inhabitants to the spirit and principles of that infernal court, and they wisely resisted its establishment among them. An inquisitor of the name of Peter of Verona, had been deputed by the pope, to carry the project into effect; but the people made a martyr of him, either at Turin or Susa. Another attempt was made at Milan, at a subsequent period; but the mob rose at the bare proposal of it and flew to arms, exclaiming that it was a system of tyranny and not of religion. Naples and Venice, also successfully resisted the inquisitorial scheme; and as the populace in almost every part of Italy formed insurrections against the inquisitors, evincing the most determined hostility against them, the States prudently availed themselves of this temper of mind, and pretended they were afraid of exasperating the people should they introduce the independent power of the holy office.

¹The house of Savoy, became ducal by the erection of the territory into a dukedom, by the emperor Sigismund in 1417, when Amadeus VIII, received the title of duke.

The contest between Frederick II., emperor of Germany, and the popes, arrested the arm of persecution through the greater part of his reign, within his dominions; and hence it was that immense numbers of the Albigenses removed to that country, and resided there in peace. In the year 1224, he issued four several edicts of a most cruel character against dissenters; and the persecution against them was carried on with the utmost severity, until another controversy arose between the emperor and the popes Honorius III. and Gregory IX.

Frederick, although endowed with many traits of a noble character, was nevertheless in principle a bigoted papist. The right of succession devolved on him whilst yet a minor. His uncle, Philip duke of Suabia, took the reins of government as regent, during his minority. Philip was excommunicated by pope Innocent III., and in prejudice to the just claims of Frederick, the pope elevated to the imperial throne Otho IV., the duke of Brunswick; and placed the crown upon his head in 1208. Not long after, having invaded Sicily, he was also excommunicated. Frederick advanced his claims; and to conciliate the pontiff, lavished on him munificent donations; confirmed to the see of Rome the rich possessions which Matilda, the duchess of Tuscany, had conferred on Gregory VII.; and permitted the count of Fundi, to bequeath to him his estate. Honorius III., successor of Innocent, soothed by the liberality of Frederick, crowned him emperor, at Rome, in 1220. The compromise of these differences was, however, for a time most fatal to the peace and safety of the heretics. By the imperial edict in 1224, the Puritans, Paterines, Leonists, Arnoldists, Passignes, Josephines, Albigenses, Waldenses, &c., were condemned to perpetual infamy; the protection of the government was withdrawn from them; and they were put under the ban of the empire. It declared the property of all other heretics, of both sexes and of whatever name, confiscated; as that their children may never inherit from them; since, said the edict, it is more heinous to offend the eternal than the temporal majesty. All suspected persons were required to purge themselves within a year; and the ecclesiastical judges were commanded to exterminate all heretics within their respective jurisdictions. "Furthermore," it continued, "we put under our ban those who believe, receive, defend, and favor heretics; ordaining that if any person shall refuse to give satisfaction within a year after his excommunication, he shall be *ipso facto* infamous, and not admitted to any kind of public offices. Let him be intestable, let him not have the power of making a will, nor of receiving any thing by succession or inheritance. Moreover, let no one answer for him in any affair; but let him be obliged to answer others. If he should be a judge, let his sentence be of no effect, nor any causes be heard before him. If an advocate, let him never be admitted to plead in any one's defense. If a notary, let no instruments made by him be

valid. We add, that an heretic may be convicted by an heretic; and that the houses of the Paterines, their abettors and favorers, either where they have taught, or where they have laid hands on others, shall be destroyed, never to be rebuilt."

Another edict denounced the Paterines as guilty of high treason, and punishable by the loss of life and of goods. It enjoins upon the officials a strict inquiry after all suspected of those crimes; and condemns to death all who are found to err in one point from the papal church; ordering, that they be committed to the flames in a public manner. The other edicts, published about the same time, breathe the same demoniac spirit; and exhibit the malign influence of the genius of popery over a monarch who has been represented by historians as having been possessed of many virtuous qualities, and naturally endowed with feelings of magnanimity. It was during this period of a friendly understanding between Frederick and Honorius, that an exterminating warfare was carried on against heretics within the imperial dominions, contemporaneously with the closing scenes which were exhibited in France. Fortunately, however, for the oppressed and miserable dissenters, this harmony was not long after, interrupted by the domineering temper of the pope. In the year 1228, Frederick was treacherously treated by Gregory, the successor of Honorius, and an angry controversy ensued, which continued between the emperor and the popes until the period of his death. "A beast of blasphemy," said Gregory, "abounding with names, is risen from the sea, with the feet of a bear, the face of a lion, and members of other different animals; which, like the proud, hath opened its mouth in blasphemy against the holy name; not even fearing to throw the arrows of calumny against the tabernacle of God, and the saints that dwell in heaven. This beast, desirous of breaking every thing in pieces with his iron teeth and nails, and of trampling all things under his feet, hath already prepared private battering rams against the wall of the Catholic (popish) faith; and now raises open machines, in erecting soul-destroying schools of Ishmaelites; rising, according to report, in opposition to Christ, the Redeemer of mankind, the table of whose covenant he attempts to abolish with the pen of wicked heresy. Be not, therefore, surprised at the malice of this blasphemous beast, if we who are the servants of the Almighty, should be exposed to the arrows of his destruction. This king of plagues was even heard to say, that the whole world has been deceived by three impostors, Moses, Christ and Mahomet; but he makes Jesus far inferior to the other two. "They," says he, "supported their glory to the last, whereas Christ was ignominiously crucified." Frederick defended himself, not only with the sword, but by a solemn declaration of his faith, addressed to all the princes of Europe, to whom Gregory had sent copies of his allegations and accompanying anathemas, and in it he called the pope, the great dragon and anti-Christ, of whom

it is written, "And another red horse arose from the sea, and he that sat upon him took peace from the earth."

Before this dispute had been brought to this fearful issue between those high contending parties, which occurred in the year 1239, the Waldenses in a part of Germany had suffered from the malice of their persecutors; but they enjoyed a comparative security from 1230 to 1250. After the death of Frederick, the restraining power which he exercised within those periods having been removed, the Franciscan and Dominican friars were commissioned to erect inquisitorial tribunals within the Italian territories of the empire, based upon the edicts which were issued in 1224. The officials convicted, and the civil authorities executed the sentence of condemnation; or as expressed by a writer, "The priest was the judge and the king was the hangman."

In the year 1306, a severe edict was published by the arch-bishop of Cologne, against the Catharists, Begnards, &c. In 1330, the Waldenses were cruelly harrassed by a Jacobin monk,¹ of the name of Echard. "After inflicting cruelties with great severity, and for a length of time, upon the Waldenses, he was at length induced to investigate the causes and reasons of their separation from the church of Rome. The force of truth ultimately prevailed over all his prejudices, his own conscience attested that many of the errors and corruptions, which they charged on that apostate church, really existed; and, finding himself unable to disprove the articles of their faith by the word of God, he confessed that truth had overcome him, gave glory to God, and entered into the communion of the Waldensian churches, which he had long been engaged in punishing and persecuting even to death. Emissaries were despatched in pursuit of him; and he was at length apprehended and conveyed to Heidelberg, where he was committed to the flames. His dying testimony was a noble attestation to the principles and conduct of the Waldenses; for he went to the stake charging it upon the church of Rome, as a monstrous and iniquitous procedure, to put to death so many innocent persons, for no other crime than their steadfast adherence to the cause of Christ, in opposition to the delusions of anti-Christ." In the same year, the Waldenses, who fled from the persecution in Picardy to Poland, were arrested in great numbers by the inquisitors, who traversed the whole country in pursuit of those suspected of heretical pravity, and cruelly destroyed.

In the persecution of certain dissenters from the church of Rome in the year 1322, Walter the Lollard, fell a victim to the merciless severities of the Dominicans. In the account of this persecution, he is spoken of as their chief leader and champion. By other writers, he is mentioned as the head of the Lollards; and also, the dis-

¹A Dominican of the convent at Paris, near the Rue St. Jacques.

tinguished pastor or barb of the Waldenses. The dissenters with whom he suffered martyrdom are called *Beghards*.¹ As it has been already remarked, this promiscuous application of terms to those who fell under the general charge of heresy, has been the occasion of inextricable confusion. The titles of Beghard and Beguin were applied, as we are informed by Mosheim, to thirty sects or orders, which differed widely from each other in their opinions, their discipline, and manner of living.

In the year 1370, a colony of Waldenses removed from Dauphine to Calabria. They were favorably received by the proprietors of the land, and lots were parceled out to them on terms of an annual rent, for the use and cultivation of the soil. By their industry, economy, and skilful husbandry, they soon formed a flourishing settlement. It was not long, however, before their peculiar tenets attracted the notice of the priests. The purity of their morals, and their refusal to pay for masses, distinguished them from the community of papists in which they resided. They were, therefore, marked out as proper objects of popish malignity. The influence of the landlords, however, who were interested in protecting their tenants from molestation interposed in their behalf, and arrested the arm which was already raised to strike the fatal blow. "The tithes," said they to the priests, "which ye now receive, are so much greater than those which were formerly produced from these countries, that you are more than compensated for any losses you may sustain on other accounts. These people fear God, are generous to the poor, just and beneficent to all men; and it would be illiberal to force their consciences. Are they not a temperate, sober, discreet people, and peculiarly decent in their speech? Does any person ever hear them utter a blasphemous expression?" Thus in the southern extremity of Italy, was preserved a flourishing colony of Waldenses, who remained there until the sixteenth century; when they adopted the government and forms of worship of the church of Geneva, as new modeled by Calvin; from which period their sufferings commenced, and grievously were they afflicted.

The fact, of which there is undoubted evidence in history, that the persecutions for heretical opinions were seldom as severe in the city of Rome, and in what may be termed the ecclesiastical States, as they were in more distant countries, is readily accounted for, from the interested views of the pontiffs. "Papal avarice has served to

¹*Beggen* was a German phrase (now obsolete) which signified, to ask or seek any thing, with importunity. To this was appended the term *hard*, which formed *Beggenhard*, whence *Beggehard*, and afterward *Beghard*. This term was applied by the Germans when Christianity was introduced into that country, as expressive of the earnestness of those who offered up prayers to God. A *Beghard* was a devout man; and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a heretic was so called without any particular reference to the sect he was attached to. It was applied reproachfully. Mosheim.

counterbalance papal tyranny." There has always been in the Metropolis itself, a degree of toleration utterly at variance with that spirit of indiscriminate warfare against heresies, in every other portion of Christendom. The popes have derived their richest revenues from the influx of strangers into the city; and they were well aware that a system of forbearance would increase their wealth, which has been always more dear to them than their religion.

About the close of the last century appeared, in Savoy and Dauphiny, a sect which assumed the title of "the Fraternity of the Poor;" and supposed by some writers to have been identical with the society of the "Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit." What their tenets were is not certainly known. In France, they were stigmatized, in this century, with the epithet of *Turlupins*; the origin of which has never been satisfactorily explained. In the city of Paris, many of them were burned. This name became confounded with those of Beghards, Lollards, &c.; and in the fifteenth century, it was attached to the followers of Picard, (first known as Picards,) who, from the most authentic accounts, were inhabitants of the Piedmont valleys, and in 1418, fled from persecution and settled in Bohemia. The Vaudois who sought a refuge in France, and were driven from that country into the Netherlands, there received the name of *Turilupins*, or "Wolves of Turin." In the year 1334, one hundred and fourteen of them were burnt in Paris. In 1378, vast numbers of them, says a writer, were burnt alive in the Place de Grave. "This persecution was continued by an inquisitorial monk, commissioned by pope Clement VII.; and in the space of thirteen years, he delivered into the hands of the civil magistrates of Grenoble, one hundred and fifty persons to be burned as heretics." The persecution for religious opinions has been more unremitted in France, than in any other country in Europe. From the Auto da Fe of Orleans, in the year 1007, to the eighteenth century, there was scarcely a period when a Christian spirit of toleration can be said to have prevailed in that country.

"During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the number of the Waldenses increased in Germany. In the year 1391, four hundred and forty-three were apprehended by the inquisitors in Saxony and Pomerania. They confessed that their teachers came from Bohemia; and that the principles they maintained had been transmitted to them from their ancestors."

From the facts which have been thus summarily presented, we have multiplied evidences of the approach of those great events which in a century after, perfected and forever secured the work of Reformation. God, in his own appointed time, had determined the period when the two witnesses should finish their testimony; and "the everlasting gospel be preached unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people."

CHAPTER XI.

THE political events of this century, are memorable from their connection with the great revolutions which occurred in France and England. The wars between the two kingdoms had been carried on with various success throughout the last century. Edward III., claimed the crown of France, in right of his mother Isabel, as an elder branch of the Capetian family, in prejudice to the claims of Philip VI., of the house of Valois. Calais was taken by Edward, who also advanced to Paris, and defeated Philip in the battle of Crecy. The Black Prince subdued the southern provinces, and his father overran Picardy and Artois, in the north. By the decided victory won at Poitiers, the French king, John, was taken prisoner and sent to England. In 1368, the French recovered almost all the places conquered by the English. In the commencement of this century, a civil war broke out in France, in consequence of the rival claims of the houses of Orleans and Burgundy. In the year 1415, Henry V. invaded France, and obtained a signal victory at Agincourt. By a treaty at Troyes, he is acknowledged heir of the crown of France; and in 1422, his son Henry VI., is crowned king of France in Paris. But a reverse of fortune soon after accompanied the English forces, when opposed by the celebrated Joan of Arc, or the Maid of Orleans. They were driven from the siege of that city; and in 1436, were expelled from Paris. Guienne, which had been an English province from the reign of Henry II., in the twelfth century, was annexed to France by the prowess of Dunois. Normandy was regained by the battle of Formigny. In 1450, the English were dispossessed of all their territories in France.¹ In this year, the civil war in England commenced, between the two houses of York and Lancaster. This was continued until the year 1485, when at the battle of Bosworth, Richard III. was killed, and Henry VII. ascended the throne. So fatal was this war, that nearly all the princes of those families were killed.

At the close of this century, the throne of France was in the possession of the house of Orleans, in the person of Louis XII.; that of England, of the house of Tudor, in the person of Henry VII.; that of Germany, in the person of Maximilian I., of Austria. The crowns of France and England are both hereditary, that of Germany was elective.

The celebrated constitution, known as the Golden Bull, from the

¹Except Calais and Guignes.

seal attached to it, was planned in a diet¹ at Nuremberg, in the year 1355, and published the following year. This was the fundamental law of the German empire. In explanation of this constitution, which defined the powers of the electoral college, a few preliminary remarks will be made in reference to the early history of the succession to the throne.

France and Germany were united by Charlemagne, who was crowned emperor of the West by Pope Leo III., in the year 800. These kingdoms were severed in 888, at the death of Charles the Fat, the great-grand-son of Charlemagne. The crown descended by hereditary succession, from the founder of the empire to this last sovereign. After his death, Charles the Simple, who was in the fourth descent from Charlemagne, should have been elevated, by hereditary right to the imperial throne; but Arnold, an illegitimate descendant through an elder branch of the Carlovingian family, was chosen by the German nations. Charles the Simple, remained king of France. After the death of Conrad I., (his grandson,) without issue, Henry I., also his grandson by the female line, succeeded to the empire. From him, it lineally descended for four generations. Henry II., the last of this Saxon line, succeeded by a species of hereditary and divine right, (as it was expressed, *Christi adjutorio, et jure haereditario.*) After his death, the Saxon family becoming extinct, the succession returned to the lineal descendant of Arnold, in the person of Conrad II., of the house of Franconia. Through this family the crown lineally descended to Henry V., the last of the male line. Here the rule of succession was suspended; and instead of Frederick, duke of Suabia, being elevated to the throne, a distant branch of the Saxon line was substituted, and the crown devolved on Lothaire II. It was at this period then, we find the succession based upon a principle more purely elective.

Previous then, to the year 1125, the imperial throne may be said to have been really hereditary; although, agreeably to the theory of the government, something of the popular assent was considered necessary to establish the validity of the claim. In the election of Lothaire, the princes submitted the choice to ten persons in whose judgment they promised to confide. From this period there are traces of an electoral college consisting of a definite number of persons, to the reign of Otho IV., when that number was finally

¹The diet was the National Assembly of Germany, and was convened under the authority of the emperor, customarily twice every year. The three chambers of which it was composed, were the college of electors, the benches of the temporal and spiritual princes, the representative body of the imperial cities. The sovereign and the diet, constituted the supreme legislature of the empire. What was in more modern times termed the diet of "the Germanic Confederation," was composed of plenipotentiaries assembled at Frankfort, on the Maine. This confederation was formed at the congress of Vienna, in 1815, in the place of the ancient imperial government dissolved in 1806.

limited to seven. Of these, three were spiritual, and four were temporal princes. The arch-bishops of Mentz, of Treves, and of Cologne, were the spiritual electors; and the duke of Saxony, the count Palatine of the Rhine, the king of Bohemia, and the Margrave of Brandenburg, were the temporal. By the golden bull, peculiar rights and honors were conferred upon the seven electors. They were constituted the first officers of the empire. In the event of an interregnum, the duke of Saxony, and the count Palatine of the Rhine, were to act as vicars of the empire until the vacancy was filled by an election. Frankfort was designated as the place for holding the elections; Aix-la-chapelle, as that of coronation; and Nuremberg, as that where every new emperor should hold his first court. The arch-bishop of Cologne, was to perform the ceremony of coronation. The electors, however, assumed the power of deposing, as well as that of elevating, and exercised it against Adolphus Nassau, in 1298, for having received money from England, to make war against France. In 1347, being dissatisfied with Charles IV., of the house of Luxemburg, they offered the crown successively to Edward III., king of England, who refused it, to Frederick of Thuringia, and to Louis of Brandenburg, who both sold their right to Charles. In 1400, four of the electors deposed Wincseslaus, son of Charles, and first elected Frederick of Brunswick; but he being assassinated soon after, they chose Robert count Palatine. In the year 1338, the princes and states of the empire, disgusted with the obstinacy of the popes, John XXII. and Benedict XII., in their controversy with the emperor, Louis of Bavaria, declared that prince released from the excommunication which had been pronounced against him by those pontiffs, and the electors, in an assembly at Rense, "obligated themselves unanimously to maintain, protect, and defend the empire and their princely honor, in the electiveness of the empire, in its rights and their own, with all their authority and power, without any exception." In the course of the same year, "it was most solemnly declared, by a general law of the empire, published by a diet at Frankfort, that the imperial dignity and power are immediately from God; that whoever is elected king or emperor, by all or by the majority of the electors, needs no papal sanction, but is king or emperor by virtue of the election; that in case of an interregnum, the vicariate belongs to the elector of the Palatinate." In the year 1339, they confirmed what they had thus published, and added, "that there is no difference between a Roman king crowned in Germany, and a Roman emperor crowned in Rome, and that, in case of the refusal of the pope, every bishop is authorized to officiate at the coronation." This measure operated as a signal check to the usurpations of the pontiffs; and would have been mentioned in connection with the events of the fourteenth century, but it was supposed, that it

would be more appropriately introduced in a review of events of a political character.

Switzerland was anciently embraced within the kingdom of Burgundy, or Arles. About the year 1032, it was united to the German empire. Its inhabitants have always been distinguished for their bravery and love of liberty. The country has been described as "composed of high mountains and deep valleys, interspersed with beautiful lakes, and abounding with the wildest and most picturesque scenery. The Alps run along the whole southern boundary, and their summits and ridges are covered with glaciers or fields of ice of vast extent and magnificence." It was not before the twelfth century, that the cities of Switzerland assumed an importance in the political affairs of Europe. Frederick II. raised the cities of Friburg and Zurich to the rights and immunities of free, imperial cities. The latter was eminent for its commercial activity. The cantons into which it is divided, are so many independent republics united by a confederacy, and governed by a general diet. This assembly is composed of representatives from the several cantons; and is convened every two years, alternately at Zurich, Berne, and Lucerne. These are called presiding cantons; and the governor of the presiding canton, for the time being, is called the Landamman of Switzerland. Each canton has one vote in the diet. There are now twenty-two of these, Berne, Aargau, Basle, Schaffhausen, Zurich, Vaud, Grisons, St. Gall, Tesin, Thurgau, Valais, Geneva, Neufchatel, Lucerne, Underwalden, Uri, Schweitz, Friburg, Zug, Soleure, Glaris, and Appenzel. The battle of Morgarten in 1315, secured to the cantons which revolted against the oppressive government of the empire, a permanent independence.—With this confederacy the other cantons successively united; and still maintain their civil and religious liberties as independent states.

The republic of Switzerland dates its existence from the year 1308. Schweitz, Uri, and Underwalden, aroused to a sense of the arbitrary measures of Albert I., by William Tell, first took up arms, and expelled the governor, Griesler, from the country. In 1332, Lucerne was received into the confederacy; and about twenty years after, Zurich, Zug, Glaris, and Berne, became united with them, and these formed in 1353, the eight ancient cantons. From this period they extended their conquests; and in 1417, the house of Austria yielded the last remnant of their ancient Helvetic territories. Separate confederacies were formed by the other cantons, which, although still nominally under the sovereignty of the empire, were in fact independent. It was not until the year 1513, that Appenzel becoming incorporated, Friburg, Soleure, Basle, and Schaffhausen, having previously become members, that the league of thirteen independent cantons was completed. They were acknowledged to be free from the jurisdiction of the imperial chamber, and from all contributions imposed by the diet. By the treaty

of Westphalia, in 1648, their independence, with the remaining cantons,¹ was formally recognized.

By their civil institutions, the freedom of public discussions was better secured than in any other state in Europe; and hence it was that the principles of the Reformation, in the sixteenth century, were early implanted in the cities, as in Geneva and Zurich, in which literature was most flourishing. The new doctrines were preached with boldness and faithfulness, by Zwingli and his coadjutors; and their reception was the result of rational conviction from the force of truth.

It may not be out of place to remark here, that the religion of Switzerland partakes very equally of the protestant and papal doctrines, in our times. The cantons decidedly protestant, are Geneva, Berne, Schaffhausen, Neufchatel, Basle, Glaris, Zurich, Vaud, Thurgau. Those attached to the popish church, are Lucerne, Schweitz, Tesino, Soleure, Friburg, Uri, Underwalden, Valais, Zug. The cantons of Appenzel, Grisons, St. Gall, and Aargau are supposed to be very nearly equally divided between the two churches. In Geneva, however, there are about 15,000 papists.

In the general sketch which is here given of the history of those nations which participated in the events connected with the progress of the Reformation from this period, the country of the Netherlands should not be omitted. This embraces the two kingdoms of Holland and Belgium. It was once united to Germany, but in the beginning of the tenth century, it became independent, and was governed by counts, or earls; and was divided into many small principalities. In the year 1443, they became subject to the duke of Burgundy. With the heiress of Burgundy, the Netherlands passed to the house of Austria; Maximilian I. having married the last female issue of that family. From him the inheritance descended to his grand-son, Charles V., who in 1555 resigned this country to his son Philip II., king of Spain. The government of Holland, and some of the contiguous provinces, were intrusted to William, prince of Orange, a count of the German empire. In consequence, however, of the progress of the new doctrines, as they were called, Philip established the inquisition with a view of suppressing them. This occasioned a revolt, which was encouraged by William. Having reduced some of the strongest garrisons, he was proclaimed Stadtholder, (Dut. Stadhouder, City-holder,) or commander-in-chief of all the forces. From jealousies which sprung up among the provinces, although all had suffered alike, seven only united; and, by a solemn treaty at Utrecht, in the year 1579, pledged their faith in the defense of their liberties. These were the provinces of Holland, Guelderland, Zealand, Fries-

¹The cantons of Valais, Geneva, and Neufchatel, might not be considered as embraced within the Helvetic republic, before the year 1815, when the ancient confederation was restored.

land, Utrecht, Overysse, and Groningen. But the history of these events will be resumed in its proper place.

In the year 1453, Constantinople was taken by the forces under Mahomet II., and became the seat of the Ottoman empire. In 1492, the Moors were finally expelled from Spain. In the same year America was discovered. But the most memorable event of this century, was the invention of the art of printing with movable types. This formed a new epoch in the art; which was productive of the most happy results, by its influence on the progress of literature and the reformation in religion. The first book printed with types of metal, was the vulgate Bible, at Mentz, in 1450. In 1457, the Psalter was published by Faust and Schoeffer. Before the year 1500, more than 220 printing presses were erected in the different states of Europe. In 1465, types of Greek letters were founded; and in 1467, the familiar epistles of Cicero were published in Roman characters. "The art," says a writer, "started into publicity, in a state of perfection."

The destruction of the Greek empire by the conquests of Mahomet II., and the banishment of Grecian literature from the East, gave a new impulse to the study of that language in the West. There were many eminent Greek writers of this age, who, driven from Constantinople, took up their residence in the western states of Europe, and thus infused a love of learning, and a taste for the cultivation of polite literature. They were dispersed through Germany, France, and particularly Italy, from the patronage then extended to letters by the king of Naples, and the family of the Medici, and were employed not only in the translation of ancient authors, but also in the instruction of youth in the schools and universities. This age also produced Latin writers, who acquired distinction by their literary productions. Among these, John Wesselus and Jerome Savonarola are particularly worthy of commendation for their enlightened views on religious liberty and the rights of conscience. The former, on account of his great erudition, and his peculiar talent for elucidation, was called the "Light of the world." In his theological discussions he advanced many of those doctrines, which in the succeeding century, formed the basis of the Protestant religion. He is justly entitled to the rank of a distinguished reformer of the fifteenth century. He not only presented clear views of Scriptural truths, but he exposed with equal force and felicity, the corruptions of the Romish church. Savonarola was eminent for his piety, as well as for his high attainments in literature. The vices of the clergy were the subjects of his public animadversion; and the powers of his eloquence, which were impressive, were fearlessly directed against the abuses of the papal hierarchy. He fell a victim to his temerity. He was committed to the flames under a conviction for heresy; and died with the fortitude and resignation of a Christian martyr.

In this century flourished a new religious order, known as the "Brethren and Clerks of the common life." To this fraternity may in no inconsiderable degree be attributed the progress of learning, and the triumph of reform principles. It was one of the great moral agents which Providence seems to have raised up for the approaching consummation of the work of spiritual emancipation. Gerard de Groote had laid the foundation of this society in the preceding century, but it assumed an importance in this age, from the countenance given to it by the council of Constance. Its branches were extended into Holland and Lower Germany; and under its fostering care and patronage, arose many of the most celebrated schools of that period. The Clerks were devoted to literary pursuits and to the instruction of youth. From their institutions proceeded Erasmus of Rotterdam, Alexander Hegius, John Murnelius, and others of high literary attainments, who were distinguished scholars, and the ornaments of their age. Nor were they negligent of the mental improvement and education of the female sex. Seminaries were established for their instruction, under the supervision of competent teachers; and branches of industry suitable to their sex, were also objects of their attention. Probably no other cause, separately considered, operated with more success in producing a permanent improvement in the morals and learning of the age, than this society. The Brethren and Clerks of the common life, were soon stigmatized by the monks and clergy, with the epithets of Lollards, Beghards, &c. and every effort was made to suppress this praiseworthy and disinterested association, until it was finally accomplished through the instrumentality of the Jesuits.

This was truly an age of revival in Europe. Universities and schools were multiplied. Those of Leipsic, of Ingoldstadt, of Glasgow, of Upsal, of Turin, of Copenhagen, and of many other cities, were founded in this century. The facility of publishing the productions of ancient and modern authors, by the recent improvements in the printing-press, excited a new ardor in literary pursuits. All classes of society seem to have been placed in an attitude, each to ascend a step higher in the scale of moral dignity. But there was one, and that exercising an almost irresistible control over the public mind, which interposed its influence to arrest the general impulse.

The church of Rome, that incubus on society, that moral poison which had for centuries corrupted the pure stream of spiritual knowledge, was now an active agent in the work of demoralization. "The purification of faith, did not proceed from the majority of the doctors of the Church, from the hierarchical dignitaries no more than from the multitude of common ecclesiastics. On the contrary, both classes opposed the luminously progressing spirit of the time, in part with open hostility, in part they checked its odious

advancement by iniquitous intrigues; in part they fled, amazed at the unusual light, back into still thicker darkness. The mass of superstitious statutes and religious abuses, already existing, was augmented by new ones, partly by the actual command of the hierarchs to announce them publicly, partly by their secret favor, or by tacit approbation of the false doctrines of particular zealots, and the follies of a superstitious or fanatical populace." (Rotteck.) For centuries the principles of the Reformation had pursued their steady progress against the combined efforts of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The contests between the pontiffs and the princes of Europe had never been sustained by the latter with a view to any radical change of the established religion, or its purification from the corruptions which had destroyed its spirituality. The conflicts were those of antagonist powers, arising from a spirit of aggression on the one part, and a defensive principle on the other. The parliament, which in the reign of Henry V. of England, proposed to the king to seize the ecclesiastical revenues and appropriate them to the use of the crown, enacted severe laws against the doctrines of Wickliffe, declaring that "whoever was convicted of Lollardy before the ordinary; besides suffering capital punishment, according to the laws formerly established, should also forfeit his lands and goods to the king; and that the chancellor, treasurer, justices of the two benches, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and all the chief magistrates in every city and borough, should take an oath, to use their utmost endeavors for the extirpation of heresy." In France, the liberties of the Gallican church, founded, as we have already mentioned, on the edict of Louis IX., and confirmed by the boasted pragmatic sanction of Bourges, in the reign of Charles VII. and in the middle of this century, secured no guarantees to those principles which struck at the root of popish iniquities. It is true that these measures were subsidiary to the great efforts made by the Reformers in those times; but this result was neither intended nor anticipated by the monarchs who maintained them. The Reformation had continually advanced from age to age, towards its final consummation, not by the countenance and sustaining arm of the governments of Europe, but in opposition to, and in defiance of their unceasing efforts to suppress, and even to annihilate it. The force of truth was in conflict with the political and ecclesiastical institution of Christendom, and eventually triumphed. Science was the mighty weapon, under the Providence of God, which achieved the victory. The conquest was the achievement of the intellect, enlightened by knowledge and the truth of God's Word. Before the energies of this power, earthly potentates succumbed, and the proud hierarch of Rome was prostrated in the dust.

When therefore, we take a dispassionate and calm survey of the state of society in the beginning of this century, our astonishment is, that the accomplishment of the great work of religious reform,

was protracted beyond the period of an hundred years. To this condition of state and church we will now revert by resuming the subject of our history.

"The state of religion," says Mosheim,¹ "was become so corrupt among the Latins, that it was utterly destitute of any thing that could attract the esteem of the truly virtuous and judicious part of mankind. This is a fact which even they, whose prejudices render them unwilling to acknowledge it, will not deny. The worship of the deity consisted in a round of insipid and frivolous ceremonies. The discourses of those who instructed the people in public, were not only destitute of sense, judgment, and spirit, but even of piety and devotion, and were in reality, nothing more than a motley mixture of the grossest fictions, and the most extravagant inventions." Those who were the most obsequious to the authority of the popes, who were the most liberal in their donations to the Church, who could pay with a profuse hand for indulgences, were most rigid in their observances of the rites and ceremonies prescribed by the ecclesiastical authority, could assume an appearance of unaffected sanctimony, and perform their penances with the air of devout humility, such were esteemed the most sincere Christians; and were sometimes honored after death with a niche in the temple of canonized saints. With this true picture of the general depravity which prevailed, and of the low standard of piety which the Church had itself established, we can very readily suppose how degraded and corrupt the clergy had become. We are informed by the historian to whom I have referred, that "The vices which reigned among the Roman pontiffs, and indeed, among all the ecclesiastical orders, were so flagrant that the complaints of the most eminent writers of this century did not appear at all exaggerated. The more eminent rulers of the Church, who lived in a luxurious indolence, and in the infamous practice of all kinds of vice, were obliged to hear with a placid countenance, and even to commend these bold censors, who declaimed against the degeneracy of the Church, declared that there was almost nothing sound, either in its visible head or in its members, and demanded the aid of the secular arm, and the destroying sword, to lop off the parts that were infected with this grievous and deplorable contagion. The most eminent writers of this century, unanimously lament the miserable condition to which the Christian Church was reduced by the corruption of its ministers, and which seemed to portend nothing less than its total ruin, if Providence did not interpose by extraordinary means, for its deliverance and preservation."

The schism which had arisen in the last century, after the death of Gregory XI., in the year 1378, was not healed at the commencement of this; but had become apparently irremediable by the ob-

¹ Eccles. Hist. 15th cent.

stinacy of the contending pontiffs. The Church was divided.—Two claimants asserted the right to the chair of St. Peter, and fulminated against each other the most bitter anathemas. Boniface IX. died in the year 1404, but the Italian interest was irreconcilable to his surviving enemy, and the cardinals of that party elevated as his successor, Cosmat de Meliorati, who occupied the disputed seat as Innocent VII. In the meantime, Benedict XIII. remained at Avignon, exercising the papal prerogatives over that portion of the Church, which sustained his pretensions. Innocent died two years after his accession, and was succeeded by Gregory XII. The expense of supporting two vicars in the apostolic see, by double taxation, was too grievous to be borne with patience, and a general dissatisfaction prevailed. With a view of terminating this controversy, Benedict and Gregory bound themselves by a solemn oath to renounce their respective claims; but with characteristic duplicity neither evinced a sincere wish to restore harmony to the Church; and were at length suspected by all parties of having acted in concert for the purpose of retaining their respective stations. A council assembled at Pisa in the year 1409, and declared them both “Guilty of heresy, perjury, and contumacy; unworthy of the smallest tokens of honor or respect, and separated ipso facto from the communion of the Church.” Having thus deposed and excommunicated them both, Peter of Candia, or Alexander V., was elected pope. These measures however, failed to accomplish the object intended, as there were then three popes, each claiming to be the rightful apostolic successor. Benedict assembled a council at Perpignan; and Gregory another at Austria, near Aquileia. In the following year, Alexander died, and sixteen cardinals met in conclave, and elected as his successor, Balthasar Cossa, who assumed the title of John XXIII. John is represented by the historian as “having been destitute of all principles, both of religion and probity.”

In the year 1414, that council which is memorable in history for having burnt Huss and Jerome, assembled at Constance, by the authority of John. This is considered the seventeenth ecumenical council of the papal church. John appeared in person with a great number of cardinals and bishops. The emperor Sigismund, and many of the German princes, as well as the ambassadors from the European states, were also present. The great object in view, was to restore harmony to the Church, or in other words, to reform the Church in its head and members. Among its first measures was a decree, that “The pontiff is inferior, and subject to an ecumenical council.” This was evidently a novel principle; and was a subversion of that gigantic structure, which the popes for more than a thousand years, had successively labored to build up. It was however a contribution, perhaps unwillingly made, to appease the general discontent which pervaded all classes under the exorbitant

powers exercised by the pontiffs; and was, moreover, a signal concession by the highest ecclesiastical judicatory to the principles of the Reformation. Another innovation of a similar character and tendency, was the admission into the convention, as constituent members of the assembly, ambassadors of all Christian princes, the deputies of universities, and a multitude of inferior theologians, and even doctors of the law. Ecumenical conventions had previously been composed altogether of the highest orders of ecclesiastics. By this new organization, the rights of the laity, for ages past obliterated, were recognized and respected. Another severe blow given to the influence which the popes had hitherto exercised over the proceedings of the councils, was by another feature in the organization which paralyzed the numerical strength of the Italian bishops and cardinals, the voting by nations.

The council of Constance having solemnly decreed, that "By a divine right it had an authority to which every rank, even the papal, is obliged to submit, in matters of faith, in the extirpation of the present schism, and in the reformation of the Church, both in its head and in its members; and that every person, even a pope, who shall obstinately refuse to obey that council, or any other lawfully assembled, is liable to such punishment as may be inflicted," proceeded to the exercise of the high prerogatives with which it declared itself invested, by formally deposing John, on a charge of flagitious crimes, and the violation of his pledged faith, in refusing to resign the papal chair agreeably to his solemn engagement. The council had declared, that the peace of the Church imperatively demanded the resignation of the three pontiffs. John had consented to submit the validity of his claim to its decision, but when he discovered that its judgment would be unfavorable to his pretensions, he effected his escape through the assistance of duke Frederick, of Austria. Having deposed the pontiffs, the council excommunicated Frederick for having aided John¹ in his flight from Constance. Gregory soon after tendered his abdication; but Benedict, who held his court at Perpignan, refused to acknowledge the authority of the council, and continued to exercise the papal prerogatives. In 1417, Otho of Colonna was elected as Martin V., and endeavored by his machinations and intrigues to counteract the efforts of the council to reform the abuses in the Church. About five months after his elevation he dissolved it. Benedict died in 1423; and the cardinals, who had attached themselves to his interest, elected as his successor, Giles Monois, or Clement VIII., who was sustained by Alphonsus, king of Sicily. After his death, in

¹John was confessedly a legitimate pope; and it is still questionable whether the act of deposition was within the power of the council. He was no doubt fully convicted of flagrant vices; but these have never been considered as disqualifications for the papal chair, rather, as appertaining to it. He was afterward appointed by Martin, cardinal bishop of Frascati.

1429, Martin became the undisputed occupant of the apostolic chair; and not until this period can this schism be said to have been entirely healed; although it has generally been considered as removed by the deposition of the three pontiffs, and the election of Martin.

With a view of defeating the measures of reform which he strenuously opposed, the pontiff, soon after the dissolution of the council, concluded a Concordat¹ with a diet of the German electors at Frankfurt, in 1418; by which he still retained a large portion of his recent usurpations. A diet at Mentz, not long after, adopted measures adverse to the papal interests.

The meeting of the council at Constance, was an epoch in the history of the Church. The avowed purpose for which it was convened—a reformation of the abuses which had sprung up, under the usurpations of the popes, and the vices of a corrupt clergy—was a public admission, which must have strengthened the cause of those engaged in the efforts to accomplish a more spiritual reformation, than was consistent with the safety and interest of the popish hierarchy. The exposure of the gross immoralities of licentious ecclesiastics and the deposition of a pontiff, legitimately elected, for flagitious crimes, were circumstances well calculated to impress upon the public mind unfavorable opinions of the sanctity of the one and of the infallibility of the other. Boniface IX. had also been guilty of a gross traffic of his patronage, “by selling the privileges, of exemptions from ordinary jurisdiction, of holding benefices in commendam, and of other dispensations invented for the benefit of the Holy See;” or, in other words, of the abominable sin of Simony.

While the council attempted to lop off with one hand some of the prominent excrescences of this corrupt system, they engrafted upon it with the other, branches equally unsound, and which have produced the bitter fruits of the parent stock. An innovation was introduced in the rites of the Church, the administration of the Lord’s Supper with the bread alone. This decree was passed in the year 1415, and since that period the laity have never been permitted to partake of the wine in the holy sacrament. Although it had been the universally established practice of the Church, to administer the elements in both kinds previous to this time, the council of Trent, in the following century, confirmed the decree by declaring, that “Whoever thinks it necessary to receive in both kinds, let him be accursed;” and a deluded papist is obliged to confess, in direct opposition to the express commands of our Savior, that “Under one kind only, whole and entire, Christ, and a true sacrament, is taken and received.” “The cup of blessing, which we bless,” says the apostle, “is it not the communion of the blood

¹ “A concordat, is a convention or agreement between the pope, as head of the Church, and a secular government on ecclesiastical matters.”

of Christ?" "After the same manner (as Christ had given the bread,) he also took the cup, saying, this cup is the New Testament in my blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me." This sacrilegious dispensing with the imperative injunction of the great Head of the Church, was a deviation from what had been the constant usage from the days of the apostles. The bread and wine are both administered at this day in every other Christian Church, Protestant, Greek, Armenian, Ethiopian, &c., and yet that church, which has claimed the exclusive title of universal, has excluded the latter, against the word of God. When the sect of the Manichæans, disturbed the unity and peace of the Church in the primitive ages, the communion with the bread alone was a peculiar form which distinguished them from the other denominations of Christians. Leo I., or the Great, said "When they sometimes are present at our mysteries, that so they may hide their infidelity, they so order the matter, in their participating of these mysteries, that they receive the body of Christ into their unworthy mouth, but will not take into it one drop of the blood of our redemption."¹ At the close of the fifth century, Gelasius declared this refusal to partake of the wine a superstitious conceit, and prohibited such from approaching the communion table, "For as much," said he, "as there cannot, without very great sacrilege, be any division made in one and the same mystery." The infallible church has thus condemned itself of ignorance, heresy and sacrilege.

The council of Constance, assuming and exercising the high prerogatives of the supreme judicatory of the Church, made an authoritative declaration of a principle which had been received as fundamental at the earliest period of its corruption, which was, that faith must not be observed with heretics. This formal expression of a creed as ancient as the papal church itself, and long before inserted in its code of canon laws, was made in the application of the principle to the case of John Huss, who had attended the council under a passport of safety. "Nor shall any faith or promise be observed towards him, by natural, divine or human law, to the prejudice of the Catholic (popish) religion." This was a confirmation of a decree which had been issued by pope Urban VI., at the close of the preceding century, declaring "That compacts, obligations, bonds, or agreements, made with heretics or schismatics after they where become such, are rash; they are unlawful, and ipso jure void (although, it so happened that they had been entered into or made before their fall into schism and heresy,) even if they should be confirmed by an oath, or faith pledged, or strengthened by apostolic ratification, or by any other guarantee, after as has been mentioned, they are become such."

¹Daille, on the Fathers.

This council had not accomplished the great work of a thorough reform of the Church. The vices of the clergy were not corrected. All their efforts to effect this were frustrated by the intrigues of Martin, and by the decided opposition of the ecclesiastics to every measure calculated or intended to eradicate the evil. "The cardinals and dignified clergy, whose interest it was that the Church should remain in its corrupt and disordered state, employed all their eloquence and art to prevent its reformation." To remedy this, another ecumenical council was convoked by Martin, in the year 1431. Every stratagem had been resorted to, by him to evade the popular voice which imperatively demanded renewed efforts to purify the Church. Pious and intelligent men perceived the necessity of a reform, to arrest the progress of what they termed heresy; but the pontiff, intimidated by the bold measures adopted at Constance, felt a reluctance to renew the controversy with a power which had already triumphed over his predecessors. Martin, however, died before the council was organized; and the bishop of Sienna succeeded him, as Eugenius IV. To defeat the intrigues of the Italians, who were the most numerous, and most obsequious to the interests of the pope, the ecclesiastics were divided, agreeably to their several orders, and without regard to their national distinctions. This arrangement evinced an earnest intention to strike at the root of the evil; and disappointed the schemes of the papal party to frustrate the purposes of the council. Eugenius endeavored to dissolve it; interposed obstacles to its proceedings; dissembled and used secret artifices; and finally, when all his measures proved abortive, yielded to an influence which he could neither control nor elude and acknowledged its authority; and his legates were admitted into the assembly, having solemnly sworn to acquiesce in the measures which might be adopted, and to sustain those of the preceding council claiming its supremacy over the popes. These difficulties were not removed until the close of the year 1433, when the council proceeded in its measures.

This inauspicious commencement gave an early intimation of the conflict which would unavoidably arise between the parties. As a preliminary act, it reaffirmed "the subordination of the pontiffs to the authority and jurisdiction of general councils," and abolished the annates and other papal impositions. Eugenius, exasperated by these proceedings, threatened to dissolve the council, and to convocate another in Italy; in consequence of which he was formally summoned to appear in person at Basle, to give an account of his conduct. He replied, by declaring the council dissolved; and convoked another at Ferrara. The council of Basle, rejoined by pronouncing him contumacious. Such were the relations of the parties at the close of the year 1437. In the following year, he thundered out against the fathers at Basle, a sentence of excommunication; who, in their turn, declared him deposed from the pontifical

chair, and elevated, as his successor, Amadæus, duke of Savoy. This measure brought down upon them the severest denunciations and anathemas of the Vatican. They were solemnly consigned to "hell and damnation;" and all their acts were declared null and void. Thus was there another schism of the Church, marked with stronger features of division than any which had preceded it. Two pontiffs claimed the chair of St. Peter, and each sustained by a council assuming to be ecumenical. Amadæus is known in the popish calendar as Felix V. The council of Ferrara, adjourned to Florence in 1439, and was dissolved in the year 1442; that of Basle, notwithstanding their excommunication by the pope, continued their sessions until 1443, when its members separated, to meet again at Basle, Lyons, or Lausanne. In this controversy, France and the German empire preserved a strict neutrality; England sustained the pretensions of Eugenius; and Arragon, with some smaller States, adhered to Felix. Concurrent circumstances were, however, adverse to the latter. The partizans of Eugenius obtained the ascendancy; and in 1449, Felix resigned his seat, and returned to his former retirement near the lake of Geneva.

The great objects for which these councils had been convened were in the end entirely defeated. A diet at Meatz, had given their sanction to the measures adopted at Basle, which restricted the powers and diminished the exorbitant exactions of the pontiffs; but through the skilful diplomacy and dishonest artifices of Æneas Sylvius, (afterward pope Pius II.,) the secretary of Nicholas V., the papal chair recovered all the rights wrested from it by that council. By a concordat at Aschaffenburg, in 1448, with the emperor Frederick III., the Annates were restored; and the right of collating to benefices, with nominal or unimportant restrictions, was again vested in the Roman see. The system of aggression and of spiritual monopolies commenced again; and the catalogue of grievances, drawn up by the diet at Nuremberg, in the next century, shows to what extent this system had been carried in so short a time. The alleviations of the oppressions complained of were slight and temporary; and the burdens imposed by the recent encroachments became fully as onerous as the ancient impositions. Such were the results of those controversies, which apparently were productive of evil rather than of good. But the remote consequences were highly beneficial to the cause of the reformation. It was evident, that no concessions would be made, in a spirit of compromise, by the court of Rome. The vices of the clergy became more flagrant; and it may be said of the Church, that "from the sole of the foot even unto the head there was no soundness in it; but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores," and truly might we repeat the words of the prophet, "Except the Lord of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrah." The last

hope was in that spirit which was making its silent progress; and acquiring increased vigor, as the oppressions of the hierarchy became more aggravating. It was neither from the Church itself, nor from the authorities under it, nor yet from the temporal powers, that the evils were to be remedied. God had chosen his instruments for the work; and by these it was accomplished in his own appointed time.

The recent schism, which had divided a church claiming an exclusive character of infallibility, terminated by the voluntary resignation of Felix. In the year 1458, *Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini*, ascended the pontifical throne as Pius II. He opposed, as a member of the council of Basle, the pretensions of Eugenius; and sustained the council, by his eloquence and learning, in all its measures to reduce the pope to a subordination to its authority; but when elevated to the pontificate, he renounced his former principles, declaring, that "As *Æneas Sylvius*, he had been a damnable heretic; but as Pius II., he was an orthodox pontiff." By his subtlety and intrigue, he obtained from Louis XI., of France, a repeal of the decree which had been drawn up at Bourges in 1438, securing the clergy of France from the usurpations of the Roman see. By this ecclesiastical constitution, known as the Pragmatic Sanction, "the nomination to the bishoprics in France, and the collation of certain benefices of the higher class, were vested in the king, the Annates and other pecuniary exactions of the pontiffs were abolished, and the authority of a general council was declared superior to that of the pope." The articles of this pragmatic rescript were indeed but transcripts from the decrees of the council of Basle, which Pius had himself vigorously defended. In return for this concession, Louis was remunerated by the title of "Most-Christian-Majesty;" by which his successors have been since distinguished. Pius, however, did not succeed to the extent of his wishes, as the repeal was not formally registered; and the pragmatic sanction, or other provisions against the papal exactions, still secured the rights of the Gallican church, until the concordat of Francis I. and Leo X. in the next century, was forced upon the French nation.

The successors of Pius II. were; Paul II. who reigned from 1464 to 1471; Sixtus IV. who died in 1484; and Innocent VIII. who was succeeded in the year 1492, by Roderic Borgia, a Spaniard by birth, the notorious Alexander VI.

The character of Alexander, comprised within itself the accumulated vices of his predecessors. His reign closed the fifteenth century, and ushered in the commencement of the sixteenth, the beginning of a new era of religious light and liberty. All the writers of the age concur in giving testimony to the utter depravity of morals which pervaded all orders of the clergy, and God seems to have raised up one who filled the measure of their iniquities. "The life and actions of this man," says the historian, "show, that

there was a Nero among the popes as well as among the emperors. The crimes and enormities imputed to him evidently prove him to have been not only destitute of all religious and virtuous principles, but even regardless of decency, and hardened against the very feeling of shame." "After living in illicit intercourse with a Roman lady, he continued a similar connection with one of her daughters, by whom he had five children. As cardinal and arch-bishop, visiting the churches and hospitals, he was at the same time living in public prostitution with the most abandoned women in Rome. He obtained the pontifical chair by bribery." The city was thrown into consternation by the secret assassinations and blood-thirsty murders which marked his short but awful reign. "Every one feared to move or breathe lest he should be the next victim. The spot on earth where all iniquity met and overflowed was the pontiff's seat." Such is the brief sketch of the character of this monster in human shape, this vicar of Christ, and legitimate apostolic successor of St. Peter. "Babylon had become, as the apostle has forcibly expressed it, the habitation of devils and the hold of every foul spirit. Her sins had reached unto heaven, and God remembered her iniquities. The time was fast approaching when a voice would be heard from heaven, saying "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues."

The apostolic succession has been succinctly traced from the earliest period of ecclesiastical history to the sixteenth century. The government of the Christian Church has been described in all its changes, and under all its different phases, through fourteen hundred successive ages we have pursued its history. Within that period what revolutions have we witnessed! Let the impartial reader here suspend his progress, and revert to the first institution of that colossal power whose growth and maturity we have traced. How changed from its original simplicity; how corrupted and deformed from its pristine purity and beauty! Where shall we look in the papal church for a single feature of that divine portrait drawn by the inspired pen of the apostles of Jesus Christ? Where shall we look for those who rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name? Would Gregory, or Innocent, Boniface, or Alexander, have said in sincerity of feeling, "I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle?" And yet these are they through whom have been transmitted the apostolic succession, and the only divine right to preach the everlasting gospel of peace and salvation. These are "the bishops who were ordained by other bishops; down to the apostles, who ordained them, and who were themselves ordained by Christ. These have been the only sacred depositaries of the truth; and who only can give authority to preach the word of God! Such is the foundation of the whole structure of diocesan episcopacy. In all the pages of

profane history, where shall we find, a pretension to a succession so visionary and unfounded, a lineage so fallacious in its origin, and so debased and corrupted by crimes of the most flagrant and abominable character, a catalogue of such abandoned and wicked profligates and tyrants? From this corrupt stream, crimsoned with the blood of saints and holy martyrs, we are to draw the water of life as from a pure river proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb!

The declension of the papal power throughout this century, was visibly marked out by incidents connected with the internal affairs of the Church. The factions which agitated its bosom demonstrably revealed the fact, that harmony and peace dwelt not within it. The society of the Fratricelli, or the brethren of the spiritual order, had become more rebellious and refractory. Notwithstanding the efforts of the pontiffs, in the preceding centuries, to reduce them to submission, by banishment and death; they still multiplied in numbers and inveighed against the corruptions and the usurpations of the Roman hierarchy. The inquisitors themselves became victims of their vengeance. They received, although openly hostile to the court of Rome, patronage and protection, from men of influence, and even from the king of Bohemia. The persecution of these miserable fanatics was unceasing and severe. In France, they were committed to the flames without mercy. They were pursued from one country to the other; but they adhered with the faithfulness and the patience of martyrs to their fundamental doctrine, that "The true imitation of Christ consisted in beggary and extreme poverty." They were not permitted to cherish this humble and innocent sentiment. Their history is traced to the commencement of the great religious movements in the next century; when, it is supposed, the remnant of this sect became merged in the followers of Luther and the other prominent reformers of the age.

Other religious sects arose who are worthy of notice for having maintained, with many gross errors, some of the doctrines drawn from the fundamental truths of the gospel. The "Men of understanding," as these sectaries were called, believed, that "Christ alone had merited eternal life and felicity for the human race; and that, therefore, men could not acquire this inestimable privilege by their own actions alone." They denied that the priests, to whom the people confessed their sins, had the power of absolving them; affirming that it was Christ alone that could do this. They did not believe that voluntary penance and mortification were necessary to salvation. These opinions were declared to be heretical; and the "men of understanding" were compelled to submit to the judgment of the Church and to renounce them.

The Flagellants, or Whippers, differed from the church of Rome, as to the efficacy of the sacraments, the flames of purgatory, praying for the dead, and some other points of doctrines; but they were

not less absurd and superstitious than the papists generally in other respects. They placed great reliance on the efficacy of penance; and inflicted upon their naked bodies severe flagellations; but were notwithstanding the objects of a cruel persecution. They were arrested and committed to the flames.

An ineffectual effort was made to unite the Greek and Latin churches. The strength and glory of the Eastern empire had departed; and Mahomet II., had extended his conquests to the gates of Constantinople. In this extremity the patriarch appealed to the spiritual sovereign of the West for temporal aid¹, and promised obedience as the condition. The emperor John Palæologus, the Grecian patriarch Josephus, and the most eminent bishops, appeared at Ferrara, whilst the pontiff Eugenius, and the council of Basle, were carrying on an angry controversy on the question of supremacy. The dissensions which divided the Latin church, and the deposition of Eugenius, presented obstacles which although partially removed, prevented for the time a reconciliation between the Eastern and Western churches. The inveterate hatred, however, which they cherished towards each other formed the strongest barrier to their union; and the emperor renounced a measure always unpopular with the whole body of the Greek clergy. In the year 1453, Mahomet advanced with 300,000 men to the capital of the empire; Constantine, pressed by the dangers which threatened the safety of his throne, urged upon the papal court the renewal of negotiations, solicited assistance, and made a promise of spiritual obedience. The legate of Rome, the cardinal Isidore of Russia, appeared at Constantinople. He was saluted as a friend and father. The Greeks and Latins united in public worship, and partook together of the sacrament of the eucharist. But the Latin father mingled water with the holy wine, and consecrated a wafer of unleavened bread. The Greeks were offended by this violation of their sacred rites, and turned with aversion from the sacrilege. "Have patience, they whispered, have patience till God shall have delivered the city from the great dragon who seeks to devour us. You shall then perceive whether we are truly reconciled with the '*Azymites*.'"¹ The murmur of disapprobation was soon raised to open and loud exclamations against "the slaves of the pope." In the fervor of their zeal they cried out, "Far from us be the worship of the '*Azymites*.'" The church of St. Sophia was deserted by the pious Greeks, as a place contaminated by the superstitious rites of the Latins, as a temple, suitable only for the services of a Jewish synagogue, or for the worship of heathen idolaters. "The Latins," they said, "were the most odious of heretics and infidels."

¹Azymites, from the Gr: *a* and *zume*, without leaven. Hence the Jewish festival of Azyma. The term was applied to Christians who administered the eucharist with unleavened bread. It is supposed to have been enjoined by the Romish church about the commencement of the eleventh century.

The great duke, the first minister of the empire, exclaimed, that "He would rather behold in the city the turban of Mahomet, than the pope's tiara, or a cardinal's hat."

Such was the result of this negotiation for harmony and union. Constantinople was six months after taken by the forces of Mahomet, and became the seat of the Turkish empire. "In the church of St. Sophia, the Imam preached; and the Mussulman prince offered up prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated before the last of the Cæsars."¹ The Greeks imputed their downfall to the indifference or the enmity of the Latins; and neither time, nor other circumstances, have softened the asperity of feeling between them. The Eastern and Western churches are still widely separated by an irreconcilable hatred.

The innovations in the Romish church, were the withholding the wine from the laity and the institution of the festival in commemoration of the transfiguration of Christ. Extraordinary indulgences were granted to those who would celebrate annually the festival of "the immaculate conception."

CHAPTER XI.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

A CELEBRATED French divine of the 17th century, has remarked of the state of the Romish church at the period of our history, that "Religion itself, was made to consist of the performance of numerous ceremonies of Pagan, Jewish, and monkish extraction, all which might be performed without either faith in God, or love to mankind. The Church ritual was an address, not to the reason, but to the senses of men; music stole the ear and soothed the passions; statues, paintings, vestments, and various ornaments beguiled the eye; while the pause which was produced by that sudden attack which a multitude of objects made on the senses, on entering a spacious decorated edifice, was enthusiastically taken for devotion. Blind obedience was first allowed by courtesy, and then established by law. Public worship was performed in an unknown tongue, and the sacrament was adored as the body and blood of Christ. Vice, uncontrolled by reason or Scripture, retained a pagan vigor, and committed the most horrid crimes; and superstition atoned for them, by building and endowing religious houses, and by bestowing donations on the Church. Human merit was intro-

duced, saints were invoked, and the perfections of God were distributed by canonization among the creatures of the pope."¹

"The sufferings and merits of Christ," says a writer of this age, "were looked upon as an empty tale, or as the fictions of Homer. There was no longer any thought of that faith by which we are made partakers of the Savior's righteousness, and of the inheritance of eternal life. Christ was regarded as a stern judge, prepared to condemn all who should not have recourse to the intercession of saints, or to the pope's indulgences. Other intercessors were substituted in his stead; first, the Virgin Mary, like the heathen Diana; and then the saints, whose numbers were continually augmented by the popes. All maintained that the pope, being in the place of God, could not err." "The New Testament," said a monk, "is a book full of serpents and thorns."

Pious and intelligent men every where beheld with sorrow the degradation into which the Church had fallen; and not a few seemed, at a much earlier period than the fifteenth century, to foresee the certain accomplishment of the great work of reformation which had been slowly progressing for ages before. From century to century the opposition to the Romish church had continually extended. Persecutions could not suppress it; the stake and the flames had failed to conquer it. The stone which had been cut out of the mountain without hands, was destined to become itself a great mountain, and to smite the image. The Reformation was not the work of the sixteenth century. It had commenced centuries before. Luther assisted in carrying on, as an humble instrument, what Novatian in the third century, Claudius of Turin in the ninth, Wickliffe in the fourteenth, and the holy army of martyrs throughout the intervening ages, had faithfully labored to accomplish. The witnesses of the truth have constantly preserved the purity of the Church; the gospel sound of salvation was never entirely silenced; and the Great Head of the Church had reserved to himself faithful believers who never bowed the knee to the image of Baal. A popular error has attributed to one man the work of reformation. The doctrines he maintained, have been erroneously termed the doctrines of Germany; and in violation of the incontestable evidences which history presents, the commencement of the Reformation has been dated from the sixteenth century. "Scarcely," says D'Aubigne, "had Rome usurped power before a vigorous opposition was formed against her; and this endured throughout the middle ages." This we have traced by successive steps to the opening of the fifteenth century; and from this period the progress of the Reformation will be followed up to its close.

The counts of Savoy, and the princes of Piedmont, were tolerant in their religious views, and resisted with firmness the attempts

¹See Jones' History of the Christian Church.

of the emissaries of Rome to molest their subjects. While the persecutions by the Romish church desolated other countries, the inhabitants of the valleys enjoyed repose. The missionaries of the inquisition beheld with dissatisfaction their exemption from the sufferings which had been inflicted on the heretics of France; and watched with an eager eye, the opportunity of springing upon them with the ferocity of uncaged tigers. They were ever crouched for their prey, but the interposing arm of the government protected these harmless victims from their merciless fangs. In the year 1400, they were loosed from the leashes, and like thirsty bloodhounds, bounded forward in the pursuit of their prey. A commission was directed to Francis Boralli, a monk inquisitor, to search for and to punish the Waldenses in Geneva, Savoy, and the southern provinces of France. The cruelties inflicted upon the miserable inhabitants by this monster in human shape, cannot be faithfully described by the pen; and exhibited a ferocity of character which for the honor of humanity, should be buried in oblivion. This was however, but the beginning of sorrows.

About this time the Vaudois of the valleys of Piedmont, were unexpectedly attacked by an army of papists. This occurred in Pragela, in the month of December, and amid the severities of a winter season. Their enemies, in a spirit of premeditated slaughter, had taken the precaution to occupy the caves and other places of safety to which the Vaudois might have retreated, and secured themselves either by eluding their pursuit, or defending themselves by advantageous positions on the mountains. The only alternative left to those who escaped the sword of their destroyers, was a precipitate flight to the highest point of the Alps. Thither they directed their steps, through ravines, and over mountains deeply covered with snow; the afflicted mothers bearing their infants in their arms, and leading those who were of too tender an age to surmount the difficulties without assistance. Great numbers were overtaken in their flight, and cruelly butchered. Those who escaped their pursuers, overtaken by the darkness of the night, and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, perished from the cold. Eighty infants were found the next morning frozen to death, and many of the mothers either dead, or dying, and lying by them on the snow. Whilst these forlorn fugitives were perishing on the mountains, their houses were plundered, and their habitations made desolate. The cruelty of their enemies was satiated by hanging upon a tree a helpless woman whose infirmities disabled her from attempting an escape.

In the year 1415, John Huss suffered martyrdom at the stake. There appears to be an uncertainty as to the particular doctrines advanced by this reformer. Some writers maintain, that he differed from the popish church on points not considered by Protestants of the present day as important, or involving any peculiar religious

principles; and intimate that his condemnation is attributable more to the influence of the Nominalists, his personal enemies, in the council of Constance, than to his heretical opinions.¹ The authority for this, however, is drawn from two sermons delivered before the council by Huss. Although he afterward met his fate with uncommon fortitude, we might very well suppose, that before his trial and condemnation, his language would be of a conciliating tone, without impeaching his sincerity or firmness. It is certain, that he had deeply imbibed the sentiments of Wickliffe, had publicly defended his writings and opinions, and had become peculiarly obnoxious to the clergy, by opposing the papal hierarchy, and exposing the corruption of the Church. "The bishops," says Mosheim, "together with the sacerdotal and monastic orders, were very sensible that their honors and advantages, their credit and authority, were in the greatest danger of being reduced to nothing, if this reformer should return again to his country, and continue to write and declaim against the clergy with the same freedom that he had formerly done. Hence they left no means unemployed to accomplish his ruin; they labored night and day, they formed plots, they bribed men in power, they used, in short, every method that could have any tendency to rid them of such a formidable adversary." Huss became the object of popish vindictiveness by declaiming against the sale of indulgences; when John XXIII. published his bull against the king of Naples, and ordered a crusade against him. His principles were drawn from the writings of Wickliffe, which had been translated into the Sclavonian tongue, and widely dispersed through the kingdom of Bohemia. The pope, Alexander V., alarmed by the propagation of these principles, ordered the writings of Wickliffe to be publicly burnt, and those who defended them to be imprisoned. His successor, John, excommunicated Huss for this offense, and all his followers.

In the year 1414, the council of Constance convened. Huss determined to obey with promptness, a citation to appear before it. From the emperor Sigismund, he received a passport which purported to remove all impediments to his going to, remaining at, and returning from, the council.² As he pursued his journey towards Constance, he challenged his adversaries to meet him there. Having appeared before the council, he was required to renounce his errors. This he consented to do, when convinced that his opinions were not in accordance with the Word of God. The pope had given him an assurance of liberty and protection during his trial; but he was soon after seized in the gallery of the council chamber, and imprisoned in a lonely monastery on the banks of the Rhine. Many sessions elapsed before the articles declaring the nature of

¹Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.

²It was expressed in the following language: "*Omni prorsus impedim. o remoto, transire, stare, morari, et redire libere permittatis sibi que et suis,*" &c.

his offenses were exhibited against him. In the fifteenth session of the council he was condemned for maintaining doctrines which are now received by all Protestant churches as strictly in accordance with the orthodox faith. It was ordered, "That he be degraded from the priesthood, his books publicly burnt, and himself delivered to the secular power," which, in the vernacular of popery, meant, to be committed to the flames. "That sentence," says a writer, "he heard without emotion. He immediately prayed for the pardon of his enemies. The bishops appointed by the council stripped him of his priestly garments, and put a mitre of paper on his head, on which devils were painted, with this inscription, 'A ring-leader of heretics.' The bishops delivered him to the emperor, and he delivered him to the duke of Bavaria." It was not until the nineteenth session that the safe-conduct given to him by Sigismund was decreed to be invalid. In the execution of the sentence, faggots were collected around him, and fire being applied to them, he was soon consumed by the flames. "During his sufferings he sang a hymn, with so loud and cheerful a voice, that he was distinctly heard through all the noise of the combustibles, and of the multitude. At last he uttered, 'Jesus Christ, thou son of the living God, have mercy upon me!'" His ashes were carefully collected, and cast into the Rhine. Luther, more than a hundred years after, gave testimony to the excellency of his writings, by declaring, that he was the most rational expounder of the Scripture he ever met with. "He seemed," says a recent popular writer, "to enter more deeply than all who had gone before him into the essence of Christian truth." "The wicked have begun," said Huss, "by laying treacherous snares for the goose.¹ Instead of a goose, the truth will send forth eagles and keen-eyed falcons." Huss was the victim of popish bigotry and cruelty, he was an acceptable sacrifice offered up at the shrine of Baal, but the blood of the martyr was the seed of the Church.

Huss went to Constance under a safe-conduct from the emperor of Germany, and in violation of that pledge he was arrested, imprisoned, and put to death, under a sentence of condemnation by a council of the Papal church. This was a practical illustration of the popish principle, which was the key-stone of the stupendous fabric of papal supremacy, that "The temporal powers are subordinate to the ecclesiastical."² But this violation of a pledged faith has been justified by a fundamental doctrine of the Romish church, that "No oath against the benefit of the Church is binding; all such oaths are perjuries." This is expressed in the body of the canon laws, and according to the inquisitorial directory of Gregory

¹The word "Huss" in the *Bohemian language*, signifies "Goose."

²*Constitutiones principum ecclesiasticis constitutionibus non præminent, sed obsequuntur.* (Decret.) "Quæcumque a principibus in ordinibus vel in ecclesiasticis rebus decreta inveniuntur, nullius auctoritatis esse monstrantur." (Idem.)

IX., "They who were held bound to heretics are released from every obligation." In the Direct. Inquis. of Honorius III., it is declared, that "A heretic should not be paid what is due to him, on a promise even with an oath;" "all persons are forbidden to show any kindness to heretics;" "they must be sought after, and corrected, or exterminated;" and, that "he is a heretic who opposes the Roman church, and takes away its dignity; or who thinks differently from it concerning any article of faith." The Direct. Inquis. of Innocent IV., gives authority to all inquisitors "to compel secular magistrates to swear that they will keep the laws enacted against heretics." But it is unnecessary to multiply the authorities which establish the principle, that a heretic, or one who differs from the Romish church concerning any article of faith, is, ipso facto, an outlaw in the view of that church; and is divested of all right, human and divine, without either civil or ecclesiastical privileges, and may be sought after, and corrected, or exterminated.¹ But the council of Constance avowed the principle, upon which it violated the pledge of safety Huss had received, and condemned him to the stake, that "he was unworthy, through his obstinate adherence to heresy, of any privilege; and that neither faith nor promise ought to be kept with him, by natural, divine, or human law, to the prejudice of the Catholic (Papal) church." The doctrine is thus fully laid down by the council, and the ground of its proceeding placed beyond a doubt, "The holy Synod of Constance declares concerning every safe-conduct granted by the emperor, kings, and other temporal princes, to heretics, or persons accused of heresy, in hopes of reclaiming them, that it ought not to be of any prejudice to the Catholic (Papal) church, or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, nor to hinder but that such persons may and ought to be examined, judged, and punished, according as justice shall require, if those heretics shall refuse to revoke their errors, although they shall have come to the place of judgment relying on their safe-conduct, and without which they would not have come thither; and the person who shall have promised them security, shall not, in this case, be obliged to keep his promise, by whatever tie he may have been engaged, when he has done all that is in his power to do."

But to descend to a later date—to the council of Trent, which was the last œcumenical council of the Church. This convened in 1545, at a period when the principles of the Reformation were

¹One of the oracles of the popish church, the learned cardinal Bellarmine, says, that "Heretics are to be destroyed, root and branch, if it can possibly be done; but if it appear that the Catholics (Papists) are so few, that they cannot consistently with their own safety, attempt such a thing, then it is best in such a case, to be quiet, lest, upon opposition made by the heretics, the Catholics (Papists) should be worsted." To this wise policy we are to attribute the apparent spirit of toleration which popery now exhibits. It is the tiger still, but muzzled and caged; and let Protestants beware that they remove not the shackles which restrain its ferocity.

deeply rooted, and the Protestant strength was able to resist successfully the persecuting spirit of popery. This council invited all who had separated themselves from the Romish church to attend its meetings, and state their reasons for having withdrawn from it. The fate of John Huss was not, however, forgotten, and the Protestants were fearful of descending into a cavern from which they could discover no returning footsteps of heretics. With a view of quieting their apprehensions, the council decreed, that "All fraud and guile apart, the Synod faithfully and truly promises, that she will neither openly nor secretly search for any pretence, nor use, nor suffer any person to make use of any authority, power, law, statute, privilege of laws, or canons, or of councils, particularly that of Constance or Siena, in whatever form of words expressed, to the prejudice of this public faith, full security, public and free audience, which is granted by the Synod, from all which it derogates in *this instance*." Here was no disavowal of the principle which had brought Huss to the stake; but a direct admission of it, by solemnly declaring that it should not be applied in *this instance*. The council of Trent neither affirmed that the Church never maintained the doctrine, that "faith should not be kept with heretics," nor did it expunge it from its creed; but it pledged its faith, that in this instance, "full security, public and free audience would be granted," &c.

In the year 1416, Jerome of Prague was arrested at Hirschaw, and conducted to Constance; where he also suffered martyrdom. The crime alledged against him was, his adherence to the errors of Wickliffe.

The fire of persecution was kindled in this century, in the kingdom of Scotland. In 1422, James Retby was burnt for denying that the pope was the vicar of Christ. Knox's history commences with this year, and his account of the persecutions was drawn from the records of Glasgow. "It was by the merciful Providence of God," he says, "that such things as are after-mentioned, were kept even by the enemies of truth, in their registers, to show that God preserved, in this realm, some sparks of his light, even in the time of the greatest darkness." There are records of martyrdoms at various periods throughout this century. In 1431, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, was apprehended in the University of St. Andrews, and suffered death. A ball of brass was put into his mouth, before his execution, that he might not address the people.¹ But the movements in Bohemia consequent upon the cruelties inflicted on Huss and Jerome, must now be adverted to in the order of occurrences.

Bohemia is known in ancient history as the Hercynian Forest. Its earliest inhabitants of whom we have any authentic account were called the Boii. These were conquered, or expelled, in the time

¹McGavin's Protestant.

of Augustus Cæsar, by the Marcomanni; who were, in the sixth or seventh century, overcome by the Sclavi. By these last invaders a government was established of a republican form; which was afterwards changed into a limited monarchy; and the title of duke was attached to their chief. In the year 1468, George Podiebrad was excommunicated by pope Paul II., for protecting the Hussites; and Matthias Corvin, king of Hungary, was made king of Bohemia by the influence of the pope. To oppose to him a powerful rival, George caused Wladislaus, son of Casimir IV., king of Poland, to be acknowledged as his successor. In the person of this prince, distinguished as Wladislaus V., of Bohemia, and as Ladislaus VI., of Hungary, these two kingdoms became united in the year 1471. The Bohemians were remarkable for their large stature and muscular strength; and in their dispositions were proud, irritable and fierce. They were distinguished for courage, high spirit of independence, and an unconquerable attachment to civil and religious liberty.

It is not certainly known at what period Christianity was first planted in this portion of Europe. The missionaries in the time of Gregory II., or in the beginning of the eighth century, extended their ministerial labors into Saxony; and under the direction of Winfrid, better known as Boniface, bishoprics were established in Wurtzburg, Erfurt, &c., Boniface being constituted primate of Germany. At the close of that century, Charlemagne extended his conquests into the country, and displayed his religious zeal by his efforts to convert the inhabitants from their idolatrous worship of heathen gods, to that of the saints and the cross. About the middle of the ninth century, Methodius and Cyril, two Greek monks, sent by Theodora, queen regent of the Eastern empire, propagated the Christian doctrines, in Mœsia, Bulgaria, Moravia and Bohemia. There is said to have been at that time few traces left of the labors of Charlemagne, among those wild and uncultivated nations. The rites and ceremonies of the Greek church were established among them; and this in subsequent centuries became the source of bitter contentions between that church and the pontiffs of Rome, who endeavored to bring them under their spiritual jurisdiction. Borzinoi I., Slavonian duke of Bohemia, embraced Christianity in the year 894. We are not to suppose, however, that the doctrines taught were strictly in accordance with the pure principles of spiritual faith. The Greeks, as well as the Latins, were themselves idolaters; and had preserved few tenets of the Christian religion pure and uncorrupted. It has been already mentioned, that at the close of the tenth century the public services were performed in the Slavonian language; and that the Bohemian churches differed in other respects from the rituals prescribed by the Roman pontiffs. The differences arose from the circumstance of their having been organized, at the introduction of Christianity, agreeably to the for-

mulas of the Greek worship. Popery was not fully established in Bohemia until the fourteenth century; through the influence, or rather by the authority of the emperor Charles IV.; for the Bohemians were ever averse to the rites and ceremonies of the Romish church. Many of them indeed continued to adhere to their ancient rites, and in consequence, were persecuted and driven into the mountains; where they enjoyed their forms of worship, independent of, and separate from, the jurisdiction of the pontiffs. It was among the adherents to the Greek church, that the doctrines of Waldo, who fled to that country in the year 1184, were favorably received. At the commencement of the fourteenth century, there were in Bohemia eighty thousand Waldenses. These facts satisfactorily explain the differences which are stated to have existed among the religionists in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Sleidan, in his history of the Reformation, as quoted by Jones, says "That they were divided into three classes, or sects. The first were such as acknowledged the pope of Rome to be head of the Church and vicar of Jesus Christ; the second were those that received the eucharist in both kinds, and in celebrating mass, read some things in the vulgar tongue, but in all other matters differed nothing from the church of Rome; the third were those who went by the name of Picards or Beghardi, these called the pope of Rome and all his party anti-Christ, and the whore that is described in the Revelation, (chap. xvii.) They admitted of nothing but the Bible, as the ground of their doctrine; they chose their own priests and bishops, denied marriages to no man, performed no offices for the dead, and had but few holydays and ceremonies." Such is said to have been the relation of the different religious parties in Bohemia at this period.

The cruel martyrdom of Huss and Jerome at Constance, in the years 1415 and 1416, excited in those maintaining similar doctrines the highest resentment and fury. This feeling was still more aggravated by the measures adopted under the authority of the Roman pontiff, to establish in Bohemia uniformity of religious worship, and to extirpate heresy. Papal bulls were published by the priests; who exhorted kings, the nobility, and all who were in authority, to take up arms against heresy; and promised the forgiveness of all sins to any person who would kill a Bohemian heretic.

The populace, incensed by the insult thus offered to them, and aroused to a sense of the dangers which threatened them, withdrew in immense numbers from the city of Prague; and having assembled at about five miles distant, engaged in solemn worship. Three hundred tables were occupied by about forty thousand communicants, who received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The mountain to which they retired they called *Tabor*; and there they erected tents, and prepared to defend themselves by strong fortifications. Their numbers were increased by the accession of four hundred

peasants,¹ with their wives and children; who left their mountain retreats and united with the Taborites. Nicolas of Hussinet, and John Ziska, were the leaders of this formidable band. Under the standards of these resolute chieftains, they determined to inflict upon their enemies ample vengeance for the murder of Jerome and Huss, and to secure to themselves the liberty of worshipping God agreeably to the dictates of their own conscience. The demolition of the churches and monasteries was the first exhibition of their violence. From 1420 to 1424, Bohemia presented a scene of devastation and ruin. Ziska, although deprived of sight, was formidable by the judgment he displayed in his plans, and the boldness and indomitable courage with which they were executed. The armies of the emperor² were successively defeated; towns were taken and destroyed; and his progress was marked by desolation and ruin. The war was carried on with relentless fury on both sides. Each party believed that it was lawful, nay praiseworthy, to exterminate the enemies of true religion, and each assumed to be the defender of the faith. Historians agree that the acts of cruelty and barbarity on both sides are scarcely paralleled by any events on record. But if the responsibility for these atrocities can by any nice discriminations in casuistry be diminished as regards either, let the heavier weight rest upon the aggressor. Cruelty, injustice, and a palpable violation of solemnly pledged faith were the initiative acts of this terrible warfare; and these were followed up by introducing into the kingdom armed troops, encouraged and invited by papal bulls to carry on a work of extermination against the inhabitants, who claimed no other right than that of worshipping God as he had required in his word. If a question of responsibility can be permitted in this case, that party which, in the first instance, disregarded the claims of humanity, the demands of justice, and the plain authority of Scripture, must be answerable before the tribunal of God and man for the sufferings of the innocent.

Ziska directed that his skin should be stretched upon a drum after his death, as an instrument to inflame the courage of the Taborites. He was succeeded in the command of the insurgent armies by Procopius, a converted papist, and a zealous disciple of Huss. He followed up with equal spirit and enthusiasm the victories of Ziska. From 1424 to 1431, he pursued his conquests; discomfiting the armies of the empire, destroying the convents and churches, and murdering the priests and monks. A compromise was at length effected by a concession of the cup to the laity in the

¹These are supposed to have been Walenses, the descendants of the followers of Peter Waldo, who, two hundred and fifty years before, had fled to the fastnesses of the mountains to escape the sword of their popish persecutors.

²Wenceslaus VI., king of Bohemia, died in 1419, and his brother, Sigismund, who was the emperor of Germany, succeeded him in the kingdom. After Sigismund's death in 1417, Albert of Austria, emperor, who had married his daughter Elizabeth, continued the union of the three crowns, the empire, Bohemia and Hungary.

administration of the sacrament.¹ The power of the empire had failed to subdue them. Berlin, Magdeburg, and Ratisbon, had each submitted to their invincible courage and strength. "Procopius, the destroyer of a hundred cities and fourteen hundred villages, returned to Bohemia with 3,000 carriages loaded with booty." The princes of the empire with one hundred thousand soldiers, under the command of Frederick, of Brandenburg, had been signally defeated at Tauss, with the loss of 11,000 men. The council of Basle convened in the year 1431, and continued its session until 1443. Negotiations were commenced. The Hussites became divided among themselves, into three distinct parties, the Taborites, the Calixtines, and the Orphans. The first, insisted upon a radical reform of the Church; that its government should be remodeled agreeably to its apostolic simplicity; its forms of worship changed upon the same principles; and in fine, that all traces of the reigning hierarchy should be swept away. The second party, demanded a restoration of the ancient rite in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the administration of both bread and wine.

The deputies who attended the council, entered into the following compact, "That the word of God shall be freely preached by able ministers, according to the Holy Scriptures, without any human invention." "That the Lord's Supper shall be administered unto all in both kinds, and divine worship performed in the mother tongue." "That open sins shall be openly punished, according to the law of God, without respect of persons." "That the clergy should exercise no worldly dominion, but confine themselves to preaching the gospel." These articles constitute what has been termed "*the Bohemian compact*," and were assented to, by the council of Basle and the deputies of the Hussites, in the year 1433. This negotiation was eventually concluded at Prague, by Æneas Sylvius, acting under the authority and instructions of the council, the 30th of November; and therefore is also entitled "*the compactates of Prague*."

The Calixtines were deluded into a compromise of the principles for which they had taken up arms; and upon the faith of popery returned to a communion with the Church; and by this fatal error, in the end gained nothing. In consequence of this secession from the body of the Hussites, a conflict arose between them; and

¹The council of Basle, at its session in 1431, propitiated their hostility by decreeing, "*Sine sub una specie sive duplici quis communicat, secundum ordinationem seu observationem ecclesiæ, proficit digne communicantibus ad salutem.*" Thus did the papal church declare, that the giving or withholding the sacramental wine is merely a matter of ecclesiastical ordinance and that neither the one, nor the other, was essential to the reception of the benefits of the eucharist. The creed of pope Pius IV., which is a summary of popish doctrines, declares, that "Under one kind only, whole and entire, Christ and a true sacrament, is taken and received." (Art. 18th) Whoever believes not this shall be accursed. Thus the council of Constance decreed, what that of Basle denied, and the pope Pius IV., and the council of Trent, have both pronounced, as accursed, the solemn decree of the holy fathers at Basle.

in a desperate battle between them in 1434, Procopius was slain by Mainhard of Neuhaus, the leader of the Calixtines. After this fatal engagement hostilities ceased, and "Bohemia, conquered only by Bohemians themselves, sunk exhausted at the feet of Sigismund and submitted to his sovereign power."

The Taborites refused to accede to the compact, and adhered with firmness to their first principles; and neither persuasions nor persecutions could induce them to abandon their tenets, and enter into communion with the Romish church. At length Rokyzan, arch-bishop of Prague, apprehensive probably of another insurrection if they were again driven to extremities, advised all who were dissatisfied with the existing order of things to retire to the Lordship of Lititz, between Silesia and Moravia, about twenty miles from Prague. About the year 1457, a society of the Reformers assembled there was organized under the direction of one of their own preachers, Michael Bradatz, and known as the "Bohemian or United Brethren." By their enemies, they were called Picards or Beghards, and on account of their seclusion, Cavern-hunters. "They bound themselves," says Jones, "to a rigorous church discipline; resolving to suffer all things for conscience' sake; and, instead of defending themselves, as the Taborites had done, by force of arms, their only weapons were to be prayer, and reasonable remonstrance against the rage of their enemies." Perrin, as quoted by Miller, states that "The Hussites, being engaged in separating and reforming their churches from the church of Rome, understood that there were some churches of the ancient Waldenses in Austria, in which the purity of the gospel was retained, and in which there were many eminent pastors. In order to ascertain the truth of this account, they sent two of their ministers and two elders, in 1476, to inquire and ascertain what those flocks or congregations were." "The Bohemian brethren," says Miller, "were a branch of the same people called Waldenses. They had removed from Picardy, in the north of France, about two hundred years before the time of Huss and Jerome, to Bohemia, and there, in conjunction with many natives of the country, whom they brought over to their opinions, established a number of pure churches, which long maintained the simplicity of the gospel." "Many of the ancient Waldenses," says Jones, "who had been lurking about in dens and caves of the earth, as well as upon the tops of the mountains, now came forward with alacrity, and joining themselves to the "United Brethren," became eminently serviceable to the newly formed societies, in consequence of their more advanced state of religious knowledge and experience. Many of the new converts renounced the baptism of infants, and were baptized by the pastors before they were received into church communion."

The "United Brethren" rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, and admitted that there is a mystical, spiritual presence of

Christ in the consecrated elements. The sacrament was administered by them in both kinds. The sacred Scriptures formed their only rule of faith. They professed to have organized their church in every respect agreeably to the apostolic plan; as their object was to restore the Christian religion to its original purity. As to their church government, we are informed by Martin Bucer, who was born in Alsace on the Rhine in the year 1491, that "besides ministers of the word and sacraments, they had in each church a bench or college of men, excelling in gravity and prudence, who performed the duties of admonishing and correcting offenders, composing differences and judicially deciding in cases of dispute." Buddæus, in his edition of the "History of the Bohemian Brethren by Comenius," has expressed himself to the same effect; and "Although," as Miller remarks, "he does not seem prepared to allow that the office of ruling elders existed, as a separate office, in the apostolic church; yet he thinks that, virtually, and in substance, it did make a part of the apostolic system of supervision and order."

About the year 1461, the arch-bishop of Prague, alarmed by their unexpected increase of numbers, commenced a persecution, which drove them from their dwellings, and deprived them of their possessions. They were exposed to the severities of the winter, and great numbers of them perished from cold and hunger. They were imprisoned and subjected to cruel punishments. "They were maimed in their hands and feet, inhumanly dragged at the tails of horses and carts, and quartered or burnt alive." They were patient under their sufferings; and their enemies were encouraged by their passiveness. A temper to endure without resentment invited aggression; and a quiet submission to their fate but aggravated their distresses. They fled from their inhuman tormentors, and sought protection in the recesses of the mountains, in caves of the earth, and in deserts. Secure from their pursuers, in the fastnesses to which they retreated, they enjoyed the exercise of their religion. The storm of persecution was unremitted, until the accession of Wladislaus, prince of Poland, to the throne of Bohemia and Hungary, in the year 1471. He was humane and just in the administration of the government; and the measures he adopted towards the Reformers encouraged their return to their habitations. They resumed their accustomed occupations; devoted themselves to the cultivation of the soil, or engaged in literary pursuits; and in a short time were in prosperous circumstances. Their numbers rapidly increased; and their churches were flourishing. "They took such deep root," said one of their inveterate enemies, "and extended their branches so far and wide, that it was impossible to extirpate them." In the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were two hundred congregations of the United Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia. "They got the Bible," says Jones, "translated into the Bohemian tongue, and printed at Venice. When that edition was

disposed of, they got two more printed at Nuremberg; and finding the demand for the Holy Scriptures continuing to increase, they established a printing office at Prague, another at Bunzlau in Bohemia, and a third at Kralitz in Moravia."

The United Brethren were permitted to enjoy their religious privileges with little molestation for nearly twenty years after the accession of Wladislaus. The popish clergy were urgent in their applications to the king, for the abrogation of these rights, and a commission to inquire after heresies. Every expedient and artifice, to induce the Bohemian monarch to sanction the persecution of any of his subjects on account of their religious opinions, having failed, the bishops and prelates addressed themselves to the religious scruples of the queen. Persuaded by them that her duty to God demanded of her to exercise her influence for the expulsion from the kingdom of the enemies of his church, she made an affectionate appeal to the king; and whilst he hesitated, Bossack, an Hungarian bishop, who had contrived the whole plot, wrote an edict in his presence, which through the solicitations of the queen he signed. As soon, however, as he had done this, he retired to his chamber, and on his knees implored of the Almighty forgiveness for the sin he had committed, and the protection of those whom he had against the dictates of his conscience given up to the merciless power of the popish priests. The king, notwithstanding his assent to the edict, discouraged its enforcement; and the civil authorities were therefore cautious in aiding the clergy. It was not until four years after its publication that the States gave their formal assent to the execution of its provisions. By this statute, "the United Brethren were prohibited from holding any religious assemblies, public or private; their meeting houses were closed; preaching and printing by them were forbidden; and they were all required, within a given time, to enter into communion with the Calixtines or the papists." The consequence of these rigid and unjust requirements was, that many of this persecuted sect removed out of the kingdom; others retreated again to the mountains; but great numbers of them were seized and committed to the flames without the formalities of a trial. These occurrences took place at the close of the century. The persecution was continued with little intermission from the year 1490 to 1522, when, it appears from their correspondence with Luther, they had designed to compromise with the papists. In 1548, one thousand of them emigrated from Bohemia to Prussia and Poland. In 1570, they entered into an agreement with the Polish Lutherans and Calvinistic churches. In 1572, an act of toleration was passed in their favor. Those who remained in Bohemia and Moravia were protected from further persecution by an edict published by the emperor Maximilian II., in the year 1570. They were then very numerous in the latter; and were therefore distinguished from that time as the "Moravian Brethren." They ap-

proved of the Augsburg Confession, which was drawn up by Melancthon, and adopted by the diet of German princes in 1530, as a summary of their religious creed; but on account of their peculiar discipline, they continued to be a distinct society. In 1720, the Moravian brethren emigrated from Bohemia and Moravia to Upper Lusatia, and settled on the estates of Nicolas Lewis, count Zinzendorf. The count, having received clerical orders from the theological faculty of Nubingen, united with the society, and in 1735, became one of their bishops or pastors. We will now revert to the period of our history.

The Vaudois were not disturbed in the enjoyment of their religious rights, after the persecutions they endured in the beginning of this century, until the year 1484. Innocent VIII., was in that year elevated to the pontifical throne; and as it was customary for the successors of St. Peter to display their zeal for the religion of Jesus Christ, by the butchery of their fellow creatures, as the first official duty incumbent upon them, this faithful shepherd of the flock, showed his pastoral solicitude for those who had strayed from the fold, by pursuing them with the spiritual and material sword. "We have heard," said this holy father in his apostolic epistle directed to Albert de Capitanais, arch-bishop of Cremona, "and it has come to our knowledge, not without much displeasure, that certain sons of iniquity, followers of that abominable and pernicious sect of malignant men, called the Poor of Lyons, or Waldenses, who have long endeavored, in Piedmont and other places, to ensnare the sheep belonging to God, to the perdition of their souls, having damnably risen up, under a feigned pretence of holiness—being given up to a reprobate sense, and made to err greatly from the truth—committing things contrary to the orthodox faith, offensive to the eyes of the divine majesty, and which occasion a great hazard of souls, &c. &c. We, therefore, having determined to use all our endeavors, and to employ all our care, as we are bound by the duty of our pastoral charge, to root up and extirpate such a detestable sect, that the hearts of believers may not be damnably perverted from the Catholic (papal) church, have thought good to constitute you, at this time, for the cause of God and the faith, the nuncio commissioner of us and of the apostolic see, within the dominions of our beloved son Charles,¹ duke of Savoy, to the end that you should induce the followers of the most wicked sect of the Waldenses, and all others polluted with heretical pravity, to abjure their errors, &c. &c. And, calling to your assistance all arch-bishops and bishops, seated in the said duchy (of Savoy) whom the Most High hath called to share with us in our cares with the inquisitor, the ordinaries of the place, the vicars, &c., you pro-

¹Charles I., the fifth duke of Savoy. He is also known in history as king of Cyprus. He was also distinguished by the title of the "Warlike." He reigned from 1462 to 1489.

ceed to the execution thereof against the aforementioned Waldenses, and all other heretics whatever, to rise up in arms against them, and by a joint communication of processes, to tread them under foot as venomous adders; diligently providing that the people committed to their charge do persevere in the profession of the true faith, bending all your endeavors, and bestowing all your care towards so holy and so necessary an extermination of the same heretics." In this style, says Jones, from whose history I have extracted this papal bull, the pontiff proceeds through several succeeding pages, giving directions for the raising of an army of crusaders, appointing generals and officers to command it, issuing instructions how to seize the effects of all heretics and to dispose of the booty, &c., &c., and at length he thus closes the address to Albert, "Thou, therefore, beloved son, taking upon thee with a devout mind the burden of so meritorious a work, show thyself, in the execution thereof, so careful in word and deed, and so diligent and studious, that the much wished for fruits may, through the grace of God, rebound unto thee from thy labors, and that thou mayest not only obtain the crown of glory, which is bestowed as a reward on those that prosecute pious causes, but that thou mayest also ensure the approbation of us, and of the apostolic see." Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, 27th April, 1187, and the 3d of our Popedom.

With this commission the arch-bishop proceeded to the holy work of exterminating heretics. The devoted southern provinces of France were the scenes of his first acts of barbarity. Dauphine was the theatre of his cruelties; and the valley of Loyse, witnessed the indiscriminate slaughter and wide spread desolation which marked the progress of the crusaders. The inhabitants fled to the mountains, pursued by the invading forces. To elude their pursuers, they retreated into the caverns of the mountains. The vigilance with which they were traced enabled their enemies to follow their footsteps with unerring precision. The entrances of the caves, in which they had secreted themselves with their wives and children, were closed with combustibles and burnt. Those who escaped the conflagration, were either slaughtered, or precipitating themselves upon the rocks beneath were dashed in pieces. Four hundred children, with their mothers, were destroyed by suffocation. Three thousand persons, says the historian, inhabitants of the valley of Loyse, perished in this crusade. The destruction was complete; for not one inhabitant was supposed to have escaped. They were wholly exterminated; and the valley was afterward peopled with new inhabitants, not one family of the Waldenses having subsequently resided in it. Such was the awful commencement of this persecution.

The nuncio commissioner proceeded with his army to the valley of Fraissiniere; but his personal presence being required in Piedmont, he appointed a Franciscan monk to prosecute the war; and

marched across the Alps with an army of eighteen thousand soldiers against the Vaudois. Thus was a war of extermination carried on, at the same time, on both sides of the mountains.

The inhabitants of Fraissiniere, in the province of Dauphine,¹ although poor and secluded from the world, and with few traits of civilization, were notwithstanding remarkable for their cultivation of the precepts of morality and religion. Their knowledge extended but little beyond what was derived from the sacred Scriptures. These formed the standard of their faith; and from these only they drew their spiritual instruction. Rude as was their manner of living, and semi-barbarous as they appear to have been in their general character, their moral principles, founded upon the word of God, bore evidences of the excellency and purity of their source. In their retired dwellings they were contented and happy. Supporting themselves by the products of the soil, and the game of the forests, their necessities were supplied; without the desire or the knowledge of luxuries. Their clothing was of the skins of sheep; their food, venison, milk, and the fruit of their fields. In lowliness and meekness, they preserved the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Descendants of the Albigenses, they cherished with religious fervor and Christian steadfastness, the doctrines for which their ancestors had, nearly three hundred years before, so severely suffered. They believed that the church of Rome, having renounced the faith of Christ, was the whore of Babylon, described in the Apocalypse, that barren tree which Christ himself commanded to be rooted up, that the pope and the bishops who cherish his errors ought not to be obeyed, they renounced all communion with Rome and its abominations. Voltaire, in his account of the Waldenses of this century, says "In the space of two hundred and fifty years, their number had increased to 18,000, who were dispersed in thirty small towns, besides hamlets. All this was the fruit of their industry. There were no priests among them, no quarrels about religious worship, no law suits; they determined their differences among themselves. None but those who repaired to the neighboring cities knew that there existed any such things as mass or bishops. They prayed to God in their own jargon; and, being continually employed, they had the happiness to know no vice. This peaceful state they enjoyed for above two hundred years, since the wars against the Albigenses, with which the nation had been wearied." "Such was the tranquillity which the Wal-

¹ "In these Alpine solitudes, then disturbed by Roman fanaticism, (1489,) three leagues from the ancient town of Gap, in the direction of Grenoble, not far from the flowery turf that clothes the table land of Bayard's mountain, at the foot of the Mont de l'Aiguille, and near to the Col de Glaize, towards the source of the Buzon, stood, and still stands a group of houses, half hidden by surrounding trees, and known by the name of Farel, or in patois, Fareau. Here, and in that year, was born, the celebrated reformer, William Farel, the disciple of Lefevre of Etaples." (D'Aubigne.)

denses enjoyed, when the reformers of Germany and Geneva came to hear that there were others of the same persuasion as themselves. Immediately they sent some of their *ministers*, a name given to the curates of the Protestant churches, to visit them; and since then, the Waldenses are but too well known." Such was the character of the Waldenses of the Valley of Fraissiniere, at the close of the fifteenth century, when their peaceful abodes were invaded by the savage bloodhounds of the Roman pontiff.

They inhabited seven villages. Their houses were rudely constructed with stone cemented by clay. There were two caves in the mountains; into one of which they drove their cattle, and in the other they secreted themselves, when invaded by the popish armies.

The Franciscan monk, who directed the expedition against them, summoned them to appear at Ambrun. This citation they disregarded; well aware of the intentions of this deputy-nuncio. In consequence of this, they were formally excommunicated, anathematized, and condemned to be delivered over to the secular power as contumacious heretics; and their goods were confiscated. Thirty-two articles, containing accusations against them, were drawn up by the counselor Ponce, and placed at the door of the Church. This sentence embraced without distinction all who were suspected of or charged with heresy. In consequence of this final and sweeping adjudication, the Waldenses were pursued; and were immediately committed to the flames wherever apprehended, without the privilege of appeal. Whilst this relentless persecution was carried on in France, on the western declivities of the Alpine mountains, along the banks of the Durance, the army under the command of Albert, descended the elevations on the eastern side, and commenced the work of murder and devastation in the valleys of the Po. His army, already numbering eighteen thousand, was reinforced by the papists who dwelt in Piedmont, and who assisted with pious zeal in the destruction of their heretical neighbors. The remission of sins, and legalized plunder, were the rewards freely offered by the vicar of Christ; and thousands rallied under the standard of his commissioner, persuaded that they were doing God's service by the slaughter of their own fellow-creatures. The communes of Angrogne, Lucerna, La Perouse, St. Martin, Praviglerm and Biolet, were occupied by the invading troops; and thus were the valleys environed on all sides; and resistance or death were the only alternatives left to the inhabitants. Encompassed by their enemies, and driven by desperation to their own defense, the Vaudois seized the most favorable heights, and with such weapons as they could procure, opposed with unequal numbers, and repulsed their invaders. "The women and children on their knees, during the conflict, entreated the Lord to protect his people." Albert was compelled to retreat with great loss. But the overwhelming force

of numbers enabled him to seize the dispersed inhabitants, and to desolate the country. The court of inquisition was established at Pignerol, and under its commission all who were apprehended, were delivered over by a summary process to the secular power.

Philip VII., duke of Savoy, was the reigning sovereign, whilst these cruel persecutions¹ were carried on against his peaceful subjects by the emissaries of the pope. His heart was touched with compassion for their sufferings. He declared that they had always been loyal and peaceable; but the misrepresentations of their enemies had excited his prejudices against them. He had been told that they were human monsters, that "the young children were born with black throats; were hairy; had four rows of teeth, and only one eye which was placed in the middle of their forehead." These physical deformities were represented by popish bigotry as not more hideous and disgusting than the wickedness of their hearts, and the pollutions of their heretical depravity. Innocent had called upon Christendom to rise up in its strength, and to tread these monsters under foot as venomous adders. Philip, having satisfied himself of the falsehoods which had been imposed upon him, expressed his regret that he had given credit to such idle and malicious fabrications, and promised to extend to them his protection.

But the good intentions of Philip were defeated by the influence of popish power, and the general prevalence of religious bigotry; and his death not long after placed the succession in his son Philibert, who, by his marriage with the daughter of Maximilian I., became involved in the political movements of the empire. The Vaudois, thus left to the tender mercies of their persecutors, were at length compelled to abandon their forms of public worship. Such was the condition of this people through the latter part of this century. Their history subsequently will be resumed in the narration of events connected with the progress of the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

We have adverted to the popish persecutions in Scotland, in the years 1422 and 1431. In the year 1494, they were continued by Blackadder, arch-bishop of Glasgow. Thirty persons were arrested as Lollards; and charged with maintaining heretical opinions. Among these were many of distinguished families, as lady Pokelhe, lady Stair, &c. Thirty-four articles were drawn up, defining the errors of which they were accused. They were charged with having affirmed; that images ought not to be made, or worshipped; that the relics of saints ought not to be adored; that it is not lawful to fight for the faith; that after the consecration of the

¹ These persecutions were continued with little intermission, from 1458 to 1532. Philip, surnamed *Sine Terra*, reigned one year only. In his government he displayed both moderation and wisdom. He was the father of the celebrated Louisa of Savoy, mother of Francis I. of France. His son Philibert II., reigned from 1497 to 1504. Charles III., surnamed the Good, his second son, reigned from 1504 to 1553. Emanuel Philibert, son of Charles, reigned from 1553 to 1550. He married Margaret, the daughter of Francis I.

mass there remaineth bread, and that the natural body of Christ is not there; that every faithful man or woman is a priest; that the pope is not the successor of Peter, except in that which our Savior spoke to him, "Go behind me Satan;" that the pope deceives the people with his bulls and indulgences; that the mass profiteth not the souls in purgatory; that the pope exalts himself above God, and against God; that priests may have wives, &c. &c. James IV., the reigning monarch of Scotland, was a prince endowed with many excellent qualities. His influence arrested the prosecution, as many of those accused were highly esteemed by him; and he was more studious of the permanent prosperity of his country, than of the extirpation of heresy by murdering his subjects for their religious opinions. "Those worthy persons of Ayrshire," says McGavin, "escaped the fury of their persecutors; but no thanks to the arch-bishop of Glasgow, or to the church of Rome, who would gladly have had them all at the stake. Considering the articles laid to their charge, one is astonished that they should have acquired so much spiritual light in an age of darkness, while yet the Bible had not been printed in their language, and Wickliffe's translation in manuscript must have been possessed by few of them."

Louis XII. ascended the throne of France in the year 1498.—Having been informed by the popish priests that the Waldenses of Provence and Dauphine had committed abominable offenses, and were proper objects of the vengeance of the law, he sent his confessor, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and with him the master of requests, to inquire of the facts alledged against them. They reported, that none of the crimes with which they were charged could be discovered among them; that they were not only observant of the Sabbath and of the ordinances of the Church, but that they were particularly careful of the instruction of their children in the Holy Scriptures; and the confessor observed, that "He only desired to be as good a Christian as the worst of them." The king, having heard the statement of his commissioners, said, with an oath, that "They were better men than himself or his people;" and ordered a restitution of the property which had been taken from them. The arch-bishop of Ambrun, refused to surrender any portion of that which he had appropriated to himself, declaring it incorporated with the ecclesiastical estate; and replied to the king, that "At the commencement of the persecution, the Waldenses had been excommunicated by the pope, in consequence of which their goods were destrained; therefore, till the sentence of excommunication was taken off, which had occasioned them to be seized, they could not be restored with propriety." The king admitted the validity of the plea, which he was in truth fearful of questioning; and as the pope refused to revoke the sentence of excommunication, the property of which those afflicted people had been forcibly and unjustly divested, remained as appurtenant to the bishopric of Ambrun.

CHAPTER XIII.

SUPPLEMENT.

HAVING concluded the history of the Christian Church, from the period of its institution to the commencement of the sixteenth century, and traced through each successive age the progress of its Reformation, it would not be inappropriate or irrelevant to refer here more particularly to the doctrines and articles of faith which formed the religious creed of the Vaudois or inhabitants of the valley of Piedmont. So much as relates to the history of their origin, and their subsequent connection with the Church of Christ, and the important agency assigned to them by divine Providence in withstanding the usurpations of the papal power, and purifying the Church from its corruptions, has been already noticed as circumstantially as the limits prescribed to this work would permit. The Vaudois were evidently a people set apart, and chosen by the great Head of the Church as witnesses of the truth. They in part, constituted the Church in the wilderness. By facts, as well attested as any others of equal antiquity, recorded in profane history, we have traced their origin from the middle of the third century. They have themselves, dated their existence, as worshippers of the spiritual cross, and depositaries of the true faith, from that period.

The beginning of the tenth century has been considered as the point of time in the history of nations, when the last reflected twilight of declining literature disappeared from the horizon of the moral world. Then commenced an age of mental darkness. The period embraced within the years 96 and 180, has been designated as that in which "the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous." With the reign of Commodus, commenced a new era of tyranny and oppression, of mental servitude, degradation, and ignorance. The spirit of literature gradually declined. In the fourth century appeared on the western shores of the Euxine, the first wave of that inundation which swept over Europe in the succeeding centuries. The conquests by those northern tribes accelerated the consummation of the age of darkness, which had already commenced. In the preceding century few writers of any distinction appeared. The pursuits of literature were neglected; and the Latin tongue lost much of its original purity. The medium of communicating knowledge was accessible to few, being restricted entirely to manuscripts. The neglect of the writings of the Augustan age of Rome, by the superstitious prejudices of the clergy against them, introduced a vitiated taste in letters; and at length their positive proscription by the council of Carthage in 398, ban-

ished them altogether from the shelves of the learned. It has been stated, that in the ecumenical councils of Ephesus in 431, and of Chalcedon in 451, many of the bishops were not able to sign their names. In the beginning of the eighth century, France had arrived at its lowest point in the declension of literature; but the genius of Charlemagne revived a spirit of mental improvement at its close, and the national taste was gradually improved from that period. It was not until France had been resuscitated, that England experienced the first impulse in the cultivation of science. Italy, however, continued to retrograde, and at the close of the tenth century there was scarcely to be found in the capital an individual advanced beyond the rudiments of a plain education. "I am not aware," says, Hallam, "that there appeared more than two really considerable men in the republic of letters, from the sixth to the middle of the eleventh century."

With these facts, our astonishment will cease when we discover so few certain traces in the general history of the Church, of a body or society of Christians, secluded from the world, as were the inhabitants of Piedmont. It was not before the beginning of the twelfth century, that these dissenters from the church of Rome attracted the attention of Europe; and more than a century after, that their peculiar religious tenets were understood. We shall be less surprised at this, when we recall to mind, that even at this period (the fifteenth century) the duke of Savoy, and the king of France, seem not to have known the character of the sectaries within their respective dominions. Notwithstanding the series of persecutions, for the three or four centuries preceding the sixteenth, there appears to have been an ignorance generally prevailing, of the true state of these dissenters, when the controversy arose between the Roman pontiff and Luther. "It appears," says Jones, "from what Voltaire has written, and indeed, an attentive reader of the works of Luther and his associates, will easily perceive, that their minds labored under a somewhat similar mistake as to their own case. It was not without surprise they learnt, that there were numbers around them, in every country, opposed to the corruptions of the church of Rome, and sighing in secret for a reform. It may also be added, that Protestants in every succeeding age have but too implicitly imbibed their error." Luther in his correspondence with the United Brethren in 1522, which has been already alluded to, admits that their name had been odious to him. Lefevre, Zwingli, and Luther, were severally engaged in the great work of the Reformation, without any intercommunication, or concert, for some time after they had commenced.

For the most satisfactory information then, as to the antiquity of the Vaudois, our knowledge would be more safely derived from their own statements and records, than from any other source. "They aver," says Reinerius, "their existence from the time of

Sylvester; others of them, from the very time of the apostles." "Those very persons," says Sismondi, "who punished these sectaries with frightful torments, have alone taken it upon themselves to make us acquainted with their opinions; allowing at the same time, that they had been transmitted in Gaul, from generation to generation, almost from the origin of Christianity." As this claim to antiquity has been generally conceded, we shall now refer to the doctrines by which they have, contemporaneously with the early corruption of the Christian Church by the Roman hierarchy, been distinguished, as a distinct and separate body of Christians. Viewing them as the true Church of Christ, which existed through successive ages from the days of the apostles to the present time; it is a subject of instructive inquiry, what were the doctrines they maintained from the earliest period of which we have any authentic record?

There are then unquestionable records of the purity of their morals, and the spirituality of their faith as far back as the year 1100, or more than four hundred years before the days of Luther. From their "Confession of Faith," or summary of doctrines, it appears that, at this early period, they were less tainted by the errors of popery than Luther was.

An ancient poem, written in the Provençal language, entitled "*La Noble Loïçon*," thus delineates the character of the Vaudois: "Whosoever refuses to curse, to swear, to lie, to kill, to commit adultery, to steal, to be revenged of his enemy, they say he is a Vaudois, and therefore they put him to death."¹

In the manuscript chronicle of the Abbey of Corvey, written about the beginning of the twelfth century, the inhabitants of the Alps and the neighboring regions, who were descended from an ancient race, (*homines seducti ab antiqua progenie simplicium hominum*), are described as a people from Bavaria, &c., "who have desired to abase our (the papal) religion, and the faith of all Christians of the Latin church; who commit to memory the sacred Scriptures, and who reject the rites of the (Romish) church, which they believe to be new. They refuse, says the chronicle, to worship images; despise the relics of the saints; live on vegetables; they seldom eat flesh, some of them, never." Some of the people, whom the chronicle entitles Manichæans, are said to have come from Hungary. These were undoubtedly Vaudois, and descendants of the Paulicians.

¹ Que non volliä maudire, ni jura, ni mentir,
Ni avoutrar, ni ancire, ni penre de l'autrui,
Ni venjir se de li sio ennemie,
Illi dison quel es Vaudes, e degne de morir.

The following distich in the poem points out its date—

"Eleven hundred years are now gone and past,
Since thus it was written—these times are the last."

An original manuscript of this poem is in the public library of Cambridge, (Eng.)

But we have their own "Confession of Faith" recorded as early as the year 1120; and this corresponds with a remarkable exactness, with the statements previously drawn up by their enemies. From which it will appear that the distinguished German Reformer of the sixteenth century, was much less spiritually enlightened than the Alpine Protestants of the twelfth. This summary of their faith contains fourteen articles, which seem to comprise all that is necessary to salvation; and in a Scriptural view, perfectly in accordance with the word of God, and orthodox.

1st. We believe and firmly maintain all that is contained in the twelve articles of the symbol, commonly called the apostle's creed, and we regard as heretical whatever is inconsistent with the said twelve articles.

2d. We believe that there is one God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

3d. We acknowledge for sacred canonical Scriptures, the Books of the Holy Bible. (Here follows, says Jones, the title of each, exactly conformable to our canon.)

4th. The Books above-mentioned teach us: That there is one God, Almighty, unbounded in wisdom, and infinite in goodness, and who, in his goodness, has made all things. For he created Adam after his own image and likeness. But through the enmity of the devil, and his own disobedience, Adam fell, sin entered into the world, and we became transgressors in and by Adam.

5th. That Christ had been promised to the fathers who received the law, to the end that knowing their sin by the law, and their unrighteousness and insufficiency, they might desire the coming of Christ to make satisfaction for their sins, and to accomplish the law by himself.

6th. That at the time appointed of the Father, Christ was born; a time when iniquity every where abounded, to make it manifest, that it was not for the sake of any good in ourselves, for all were sinners, but that He, who is true, might display his grace and mercy towards us.

7th. That Christ is our life, and truth, and peace, and righteousness; our shepherd and advocate, our sacrifice, and priest, who died for the salvation of all who should believe, and rose again for their justification.

8th. And we also firmly believe that there is no other Mediator, or Advocate with God the Father, but Jesus Christ. And as to the Virgin Mary, she was holy, humble, and full of grace; and this we also believe concerning all other saints, namely, that they are waiting in heaven for the resurrection of their bodies at the day of judgment.

9th. We also believe, that after this life, there are but two places; one for those that are saved, the other for the damned, which (two) we call paradise and hell, wholly denying that imagi-

nary purgatory of anti-Christ, invented in opposition to the truth.

10th. Moreover, we have ever regarded all the inventions of men, (in the affairs of religion,) as an unspeakable abomination before God; such as the festival days and vigils of saints, and what is called holy-water, the abstaining from flesh on certain days, and such like things, but above all, the masses.

11th. We hold in abhorrence all human inventions, as proceeding from anti-Christ, which produce distress, and are prejudicial to the liberty of the mind.

12th. We consider the sacraments as signs of holy things, or as the visible emblems of invisible blessings. We regard it as proper and even necessary, that believers use these symbols or visible forms when it can be done. Notwithstanding which, we maintain that believers may be saved without these signs, when they have neither place nor opportunity of observing them.

13th. We acknowledge no sacraments (as of divine appointment) but Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

14th. We honor the secular powers with subjection, obedience, promptitude and payment.

"The Centuriators of Magdeburg, in their History of the Christian Church, under the twelfth century, recite from an old manuscript, the following epitome of the Waldenses of that age." (Jones.)

1st. In articles of faith the authority of the Holy Scriptures is the highest; and for that reason it is the standard of judging; so that whatsoever doth not agree with the word of God, is deservedly to be rejected and avoided.

2d. The decrees of fathers and councils are (only) so far to be approved as they agree with the Word of God.

3d. The reading and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures is open to, and is necessary for all men, the laity as well as the clergy; and moreover, the writings of the prophets and apostles are to be read rather than the comments of men.

4th. The sacraments of the Church of Christ are two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and the latter, Christ has instituted the receiving in both kinds, both for priests and people.

5th. Masses are impious; and it is madness to say masses for the dead.

6th. Purgatory is the invention of men; for they who believe go into eternal life; they who believe not, into eternal damnation.

7th. The invoking and worshipping of dead saints is idolatry.

8th. The church of Rome is the whore of Babylon.

9th. We must not obey the pope and bishops,¹ because they are the wolves of the Church of Christ.

¹ Their ministers or pastors, were entitled bishops, as that word is used in the Scriptures of the New Testament. Reinerius says, "*Lombardian intrantes, visitant Episcopos suos.*" They abhorred the very title of a diocesan bishop, as a mere invention of popery.

10th. The pope hath not the primacy over all the churches of Christ; neither hath he the power of both swords.

11th. That is the Church of Christ, which hears the pure doctrine of Christ, and observes the ordinances instituted by him, in whatsoever place it exists.

12th. Vows of celibacy are the inventions of men, and productive of uncleanness.

13th. So many orders of the clergy, so many marks of the beast.

14th. Monks are a filthy carcass.

15th. So many superstitious dedications of churches, commemorations of the dead, benedictions of creatures, pilgrimages, so many forced fastings, so many superfluous festivals, those perpetual bellowings, (alluding to the practice of chanting,) and the observations of various other ceremonies, manifestly obstructing the teaching and learning of the Word, are diabolical inventions.

16th. The marriage of priests is both lawful and necessary.

The government and ordinances of the Vaudois churches appear to have been modeled after the simple forms of the Christian Church in the days of the apostles. "They deny," says Æneas Sylvius, "the hierarchy, maintaining that there is no difference among priests by reason of dignity of office." John Paul Perrin, one of their barbs or pastors, in his *Hist. des Vaudois*, says, "All they that are to be received as pastors among us, whilst they are yet with their own people, are to entreat ours, that they would be pleased to receive them to the ministry; and to pray to God that they may be made worthy of so great an office. We also appoint them their lectures, and set them their tasks, causing them to learn by memory all the chapters of St. Matthew and St. John, and all the epistles that are canonical, and a good part of the writings of Solomon, David, and the prophets. Afterward, having produced good testimonials, and being well approved for their sufficiency, they are received with imposition of hands into the office of teachers." They had annual assemblies, which were called synods, composed of pastors, who determined on the general affairs of the churches; examined students, and admitted them to the ministry. The doctrine of ministerial parity by divine right was maintained by them, as it was by the Bohemian reformers. This had been also inculcated by Wickliffe, whose religious tenets were similar to those of the Vaudois. "One thing I boldly assert," said this English reformer, "that in the primitive church, or in the time of the Apostle Paul, two orders of the clergy were thought sufficient, priest, and deacon; and I do also say, that in the time of Paul, a priest and a bishop were one and the same." Æneas Sylvius, speaking of the Hussites, says, "One of the dogmas of this pestiferous sect, is, that there is no difference of order among those who bear the priestly office." This feature of church government, was undoubtedly one of the marked and prominent characteristics,

which distinguished all the Christian churches, before the sixteenth century, from the Romish church. Medina, in the council of Trent, declared that "the Waldenses, on this subject, were of the same mind with Aerius." As respects the office of ruling or lay elders, it seems to be a controverted point, whether any such existed in the churches of the Vaudois. Gillis, who was a Waldensian pastor, has been referred to as authority to establish the affirmative. Other writers have doubted whether the elders mentioned were not the pastors and teachers, and the difficulty seems to have arisen from the general admission, that this term was so applied in the Scriptures of the New Testament. The celebrated Tindal, the translator of the first English bible, says, "The apostles, following and obeying the rule, doctrine, and commandment of our Savior, ordained in his kingdom and congregation, two officers, one called after the Greek word, bishop; in English, an overseer, which same was called priest, after the Greek. Another officer they chose, and called him, deacon, after the Greek; in English, a minister to minister alms to the poor. All that were called elders (or priests, if they so will) were called bishops also, though they have now divided the names." In the primitive or apostolic times, the elder who was intrusted with the pastoral charge of a church, was by distinction, and in designation of his appropriate duty as overseer, entitled episcopos, or bishop. In our day, a presbyter without such a pastoral charge, is not considered a bishop. And this distinction is said to have been established in the churches of the Vaudois, and probably of the Bohemians. Their spiritual teachers were called elders, but distinguished as bishops when they became pastors.

But admitting that there did exist such an order as lay-elders, in the churches of the Vaudois, and of the United Brethren, the institution, although strictly speaking, not of divine appointment, as those of presbyter and deacon, doubtless arose from the necessity of the case, and subserved the purposes of their ecclesiastical government which suggested its expediency. We know that among the reformers of the sixteenth century, the opinion was generally entertained,¹ "That Jesus Christ had left upon record no express injunctions with respect to the external form of government that is to be observed in his Church; and consequently, that every nation has a right to establish such a form, as might seem conducive to the interests, and suitable to the peculiar state, circumstances, and exigences of the community, provided that such an establishment be in no respect prejudicial to truth, or favorable to the revival of superstition." It was upon this principle, that Luther admitted into his system of church government an impurity in the rank of

¹ This was not assented to by the English clergy. They adhered with rigid tenacity to many of the superstitious rites and ceremonies of the Romish church; and could not divest themselves of their prejudices in favor of the divine right of prelacy, nor have they yet done this.

ministers; and that Knox proposed "the establishment of ten superintendents, (in his organization of the Reformed Church of Scotland,) to inspect the life and doctrine of the other clergy, and to preside in the inferior judicatories of the Church; not deeming it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form."

The next office after that of the presbyters, (distinguished as bishops and elders,) was that of the deacons. These attended to the temporal interests of their respective churches. It is certain, that among the Vaudois, "the ministry of the word" made no part of the duties of that office. The functions prescribed to them were strictly in accordance with the purposes for which, as declared by the apostles themselves, that office was instituted, to attend to the poor by daily ministration; leaving the word of God, and serving tables,¹ or attending to the pecuniary affairs of the Church.

It has been a subject of controversy among the writers who have searched into the ancient practices of the Vaudois churches, whether the rite of baptism was administered to infants. In the confessions of faith, which have been inserted, there is no direct allusion to this subject. The question has been discussed with unreasonable prejudices on both sides. Reinerius, who wrote in the middle of the thirteenth century, has been quoted as an authority to prove, that, at that period, "they were of different opinions on this point." One of their ancient writings, entitled the *Spiritual Calendar*, has been referred to as sanctioning the belief that they were Pedobaptists. Miller, who maintains the affirmative, with much zeal and by laborious researches, says "In their confessions of faith, and other writings, drawn up between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, and in which they represent their creeds and usages as handed down from father to son, for several hundred years before the Reformation, they speak on the subject before us so frequently and explicitly, as to preclude all doubt in regard to the fact alledged;" and refers to Perrin, to Moreland, and to Leger, to substantiate his position. Dr. Murdock, who has also written on this subject, maintains, that the followers of Peter Waldo, "practised infant baptism." On the other hand, Dr. Gill, who defended the negative, affirms, that "Their early writings, from the 'Noble Lesson,' in 1100, down to their 'Confession of Faith,' in 1655, are in favor of the baptism of believers only." Peter de Bruis, whom the Waldenses claimed as one of their most distinguished pastors, or barbs, and who preached the doctrines of the Reformation, in Languedoc and Provence, from 1110 to 1130, was

¹In the original *Trapezais*, Tables for eating on, or the counters of a money changer, &c. This word signifies in Matthew, the tables of the money changers. In which we also find *Trapezitais*, Exchangers of money. It is evident, that, in the primitive church, the deacons were secular officers, who received and disbursed money, ministered to the members in want, took charge of the property of the Church, and superintended generally its temporal affairs, &c. Philip, who was appointed deacon, (Acts vi. 5,) preached as an Evangelist, (Acts xxi. 8.)

strongly opposed to the administration of the ordinance of baptism "to persons before they had the full use of their reason." In his celebrated treatise concerning anti-Christ, purgatory, invocation of saints, and the sacraments, bearing date A. D. 1120, he charges the church of Rome, "with teaching to baptize children into the faith, and attributing to this the work of regeneration, thus confounding the work of the Holy Spirit in regeneration, with the external rite of baptism; and on this foundation bestowing orders, and indeed, grounding all its Christianity."

Such appears to be the diversity of opinions, and so contradictory are the evidences on a subject, which it is probable, will never be satisfactorily determined. It is admitted that, in the sixteenth century, and since, the Waldenses were also divided among themselves, some of them uniting with other religious denominations, adopted their several usages, ordinances, and creeds. The practice of any of their churches, since the termination of the fifteenth century, can furnish no conclusive evidence of the ancient doctrines of the Vaudois, which is the only object of our present inquiry.

Æneas Sylvius, who lived in the fifteenth century, and who, before his elevation to the papal chair, visited the Bohemians and the valleys of Piedmont, has given a very circumstantial account of those sectaries. In the quotations from his writings, by Jones, he thus speaks of the Waldenses of Bohemia—"They condemn all the sacraments of the Church. Concerning the sacrament of baptism they say, that the catechism signifies nothing, that the absolution pronounced over infants avails them nothing, that the godfathers and godmothers do not understand what they answer the priest." Which would seem to be conclusive, that the United Brethren, at that time, were anti-Pedobaptists, so far as the testimony of that writer can be received with faith.

Reinerius Saccho, who had apostatized from the Waldensian faith, and became afterward one of the most cruel persecutors of that sect, resided in Lombardy in the character of a popish inquisitor; and in 1250, published a catalogue of what he termed "The errors of the Waldenses." In the extracts from his writings by Dr. Allix, and quoted by Jones, he remarks "They (the Waldenses) say, that a man is then first baptized when he is received into their community. *Some of them hold that baptism is of no advantage to infants, because they cannot actually believe. They reject the sacrament of confirmation, but instead of that, their teachers lay their hands upon their disciples.*"¹ This statement proves beyond a doubt, that some of the Waldensian churches observed the ordinance of infant baptism; and this at a period preceding the days of

¹Ecclesiastical confirmation is a rite whereby a person, arrived at years of discretion, undertakes the performance of every part of the baptismal vow made for him by his godfathers and godmothers. It is administered only by bishops; and is declared by the council of Trent to be, "properly and truly a sacrament; and whosoever holds otherwise is accursed."

Luther nearly three hundred years. In addition to the express declaration, that "Some of them hold that baptism is of no advantage to infants," which leaves the inference that infant baptism was a rite generally observed by the churches, we are informed that the sacrament (so the popish church has declared it) of confirmation was rejected. This was but in accordance with the thirteenth article of their confession of faith; which dates back to the year 1120. This corroborating circumstance gives to the supposition—that this rite bears an antiquity equal with that of "the confession," at least a high degree of plausibility; and sanctions the opinion, that the observance of this ordinance was practised, from the most ancient times, by the churches of the Vaudois. And here we shall leave the unsettled question of its antiquity.

The formulary which embodies the religious opinions of the Vaudois, and bearing date from the year 1120, is the most ancient symbol of orthodox faith, as received and acknowledged by an entire society of Christians, or Church, of which we have any authentic record. Drawn up more than four hundred years before Luther posted up at the door of the church of Wittemberg, his celebrated propositions against the abuses of the Romish hierarchy, how much purer in doctrine, how much more evangelical in spirit is that simple and comprehensive creed than the cautious and compromising thesis of the German Reformer.

"The pope has no power or *intention*," said Luther, in his 5th proposition, "to remit any other penalty than that which he has imposed, according to his good pleasure, or conformably to the canons, that is to say, the papal ordinances." In his 6th, "The pope cannot remit any condemnation; but can only declare and *confirm the remission that God himself has given*; except only in cases that belong to him. If he does otherwise, the condemnation continues the same."

25th. "The same power that the pope has over purgatory in the Church at large, is possessed by every bishop in his diocese, and every curate in his parish."

38th. "Yet we must not despise the pope's distributive and pardoning power, *for his pardon is a declaration of God's pardon*."

49th. "We must teach Christians, that the pope's indulgence is good, if we do not put our trust in it; but that nothing can be more hurtful, if it leads us to neglect piety."

50th. "We must teach Christians, that if the pope knew the exactions of the preachers of indulgences, he would rather that the metropolitan church of St. Peter were burnt to ashes, than see it built up with the skin, the flesh, and bones of his flock." (?)

51st. "We must teach Christians, that the pope, as in duty bound, would willingly give his own money (though it should be necessary to sell the metropolitan church of St. Peter for the purpose,) to poor people, whom the preachers of indulgence now rob of their last penny." (?)

67th. "It is the duty of bishops and pastors to receive with all respect the commissioners of the apostolic indulgences."

71st. "Cursed be whosoever speaks against the pope's indulgence."

81st. "This shameless preaching, these impudent praises of indulgences, make it difficult for the learned to defend the dignity and honor of the pope against the calumnies of preachers, and the subtle and artful questions of the common people."

With truth has it been remarked by Jones, that "The Reformers, with all their zeal and learning, were babes in spiritual knowledge, when compared with the more illiterate Waldenses, particularly in regard to the nature of the kingdom of Christ, and its institutions, laws, and worship in general." Luther was four centuries behind that epoch of the Vaudois church, in which the "confession of its faith" was adopted as the platform of its Christian doctrines.

We have no data in history, by which any computation can be made, with even an apparent approximation to the truth, of the number of those who professed the faith of the Vaudois in the beginning of the sixteenth century. "There was at this time (1484) on the southern declivities of the Alps of Dauphiny and along the banks of the Durance," says D'Aubigne, "an after-growth of the ancient Vaudois opinions. The roots were continually putting forth fresh shoots in all directions. Bold men were heard to designate the church of Rome, the church of evil spirits, and to maintain that it was quite as profitable to pray in a stable as in a church." About the period when Luther commenced his opposition to the sale of indulgences, it is stated by George Morel, who was then one of the pastors of the Waldenses, there were eight hundred thousand persons professing the religion of the Vaudois.¹ This number would appear to be an incredible amount, but for the unquestionable testimony by which the statement is authenticated, particularly when we call to recollection, the cruel and desolating persecution to which they had been exposed from the year 1487 to that period, and the utter despondency into which they had been driven by the relentless and exterminating warfare carried on against them by the popish armies.

What numbers have been slain by the sword, the gibbet, and the flames, can never be known, until "the earth shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain." More than a million of them are supposed to have perished in the southern provinces of France. Who can compute the millions of papists and Waldenses, slaughtered in the wars which were instigated by the popes, for hundreds of years, for the extermination of those who would not bow the knee to the image of Baal?

¹ "Recently (19th century) the valleys of Piedmont have been visited by some pious and benevolent individuals; and the number of the Vaudois has been taken at nineteen thousand seven hundred and ten, besides about fifty families residing at Turin, in all twenty thousand." (Ency. of Relig. Knowl.)

A P P E N D I X .

THE genius and spirit of popery are fully exhibited in the laws and universally received maxims of the court of Rome. History may be charged with misrepresentation ; but the plain and intelligible language of the Church itself, speaking through its accredited and acknowledged authorities, presents the most faithful delineation of its true character. In the progress of this history we have traced through successive ages, the advance of the papacy to universal dominion, its ambitious pretensions, its usurpations and tyranny. Has that history, compiled from the most authentic sources, given a false and exaggerated representation of that spiritual power which assumed and once exercised an entire control over the religious liberties and consciences of men ? Has it imputed to that power, doctrines which it never maintained, acts which it never sanctioned, cruelties which its tenets and principles abhor ? Then let the papal court of Rome, substantiate the verity of the charges, deduced from its acts, by its own decretals and enactments.

I shall close this work by presenting to the reader a short summary of laws, particularly in relation to the offense of heresy, enacted by the court of Rome at different periods, and still remaining *unrepealed*, upon the statute rolls of the Vatican. The extracts have been taken from the work of William McGavin, entitled the Protestant. The statement was drawn up from the most authentic documents, by that able and judicious writer, and commands our unhesitating confidence in its correctness.

That the import of the term *heresy* may be understood, as received by the Romish church, I will insert the declaration of pope Honorius III., contained in the 318th page of the *Directorium Inquisitorum*. Protestant, vol. 2, p. 687. "*Hereticus in jure, &c.* Every excommunicated person is by right a heretic. Who is a heretic ? *Dicitur hereticus, &c.* He is a heretic who opposes the Roman church and takes away its dignity ; or who thinks differently from the Roman church concerning any article of faith." Honorius reigned from 1216 to 1227.

The first constitution of pope John XXII. ; Incipiens (ex parte) 1410—declares, that "The crime of heresy, by its own impiety, exceeds all other impiety ; it is more execrable than all other crimes, and therefore calls aloud for more severe punishments than all other crimes do. Heretics are the receptacles of all wickedness, as they

are described in the 23d chap. of Matthew, *Duces cæci*, &c., viz: the leaders of the blind, serpents, the generation of vipers, full of rapine and impurity, of baseness, hypocrisy, and iniquity. Therefore, the Son of the Most High wished to have his immaculate and spotless church armed with a two-edged sword, in order to bring these nefarious and wicked sects to the paths of truth, or inflict perpetual punishments. It is forbidden to receive heretics, though allied by affinity and consanguinity. Heresy, though ever so trivial, entirely subverts faith." See "Protestant," vol. 2, p. 432.

The first constitution of pope Innocent IV., beginning *Cum adversus*, &c., enacted 31st October, A. D. 1242, declares "*Ut heretici*, &c. That heretics, condemned by the Roman Catholic church, &c., are to be handed over to the secular power for punishment. (i. e. where the secular power supports this tribunal.) That heretics, although penitent, are to be perpetually imprisoned. That heretics are to be taken up every where, and consigned to the inquisitors. That their descendants, to the second generation, are to be deprived of their temporal benefices and public offices. That the inquisitors are to be favored every where. That heresy is to be accounted among public crimes, and adjudged greater than the crime of high treason. That impenitent heretics are to be burnt alive. That heretics are to be always looked upon and considered as infamous people, and not to be confided in; that their goods are to be confiscated, and that their children cannot inherit their property. That those invested with the civil power, and rectors in their respective places, are to be bound down by an oath to prosecute heretics publicly. That heresy is never to be tolerated; but on the contrary, is always to be punished. That these laws are universal, and are to be observed and put in execution every where, &c."

Pope Boniface VIII., afterward confirmed the above laws (and many others not included in the enumeration) in the year 1294.

Pope Clement V., in the year 1305, made a similar constitution against repealing the punishments prescribed by his predecessors against heretics.

Pope John XXII., who reigned from 1314 to 1334, by his ninth constitution, enacted "That the inquisitors be allowed to have armed people about them, for the purpose of suppressing heretical pravity, and for self-defense. That Roman Catholics shall not associate with heretics; and that, if they do, they are liable to be suspected of heresy, and to be punished by the inquisitors, &c."

By the apostolic letters of pope Innocent IV., (*Directorium Inquisitorum*, page 12,) "Inquisitors may compel all secular magistrates to swear that they will keep the laws enacted against heretics."

"The popes never repealed or abrogated the constitutions established by their predecessors against heretical pravity, but, on the

contrary, generally confirmed and renewed them occasionally, viz: Paul IV., in Constitution 19th, A. D. 1555, and Pius V., in Constitution 22d, A. D. 1566. Protestant, vol. 2, p. 433.

“Pope Paul V., A. D. 1605, declared it a violation of faith to abjure the deposing and absolving powers in cases of heresy, viz: powers to depose heretical kings, and in their realms to create Catholic kings; powers to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance to heretical monarchs.”

“In the year 1642, Urban VIII., and after him Alexander VII., in the year 1663, granted the same privileges.”

“Benedict XIV., who occupied St. Peter’s chair, from 1740 to 1758, made several Constitutions against heretics, at the head of his cardinals, in his palace at Monte-Cavallo.”

That all the enactments against heresies are still of binding efficacy, and are enforced wherever the papal power maintains an ascendancy, is proved by the fact, that “Pope Pius VII., together with the congregation of the universal inquisition, announced themselves by insertion in the Rom. Register in 1819, as the authors and abettors of the inquisitorial system.” Prot. vol. 2, p. 435.

I shall conclude this subject by inserting a copy of an oath administered by the Romish church; which was found among a collection of papers by arch-bishop Usher. Protestant, vol. 2, p. 256.

“I, A. B. now in the presence of Almighty God, the blessed Virgin Mary, the blessed Michael the Archangel, the blessed St. John Baptist, the holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and the saints and sacred host of heaven, and to you my ghostly father, do declare from my heart, without mental reservation, that his holiness pope Urban is Christ’s vicar-general, and is the true and only head of the Catholic or universal church throughout the earth; and that by the virtue of the keys of binding and loosing given to his holiness by my Savior Jesus Christ, he hath power to depose heretical kings, princes, states, commonwealths, and governments, all being illegal, without his sacred confirmation, and that they may safely be destroyed; therefore, to the utmost of my power I shall and will defend this doctrine, and his holiness’ rights and customs against all usurpers of the heretical (or Protestant) authority whatsoever; especially against the now pretended authority and church of England, and all adherents, in regard that they and she be usurpal and heretical, opposing the sacred mother church of Rome. I do renounce and disown any allegiance as due to any heretical king, prince, or state, named Protestant, or obedient to any of their inferior magistrates or officers. I do further declare, that the doctrine of the church of England, of the Calvinists, Huguenots, and of other of the named Protestants, to be damnable, and they themselves are damned, and to be damned, that will not forsake the same. I do further declare, that I will help, assist, and advise all, or any of his holiness’ agents in any place, wherever I shall be, in

England, Scotland and Ireland, or in any other territory or kingdom, I shall come to; and do my utmost to extirpate the heretical Protestants' doctrine, and to destroy all their powers legal or otherwise. I do further promise and declare, that notwithstanding I am dispensed with to assume any religion heretical, for the propagating of the mother church's interest, to keep secret and private all her agent's counsels from time to time, as they intrust me, and not to divulge directly or indirectly, by word, writing, or circumstance, whatsoever; but to execute all what shall be proposed, given in charge, or discovered unto me, by you, my ghostly father, or by any of this sacred convent. All which I, A. B., do swear by the blessed Trinity, and blessed sacrament, which I now am to receive, to perform, and on my part to keep inviolably. And I do call all the heavenly and glorious host of heaven to witness these my real intentions, to keep this my oath. In testimony hereof, I take this most holy and blessed sacrament of the eucharist; and witness the same further with my hand and seal in the face of this holy convent this — day of — A. D."

The supremacy of the pope is maintained not only *in cathedra*, by the church itself, but by the Romish writers of every age. Belarmino, says "The supremacy of the pope is the main substance of Christianity."

Blasius, de Rom. Eccles. Dignitat. Tract 7th, pages 34, 83, 85, asserts, that "The pope's empire is over all the world, Pagan and Christian; and he is the only vicar of God, who has supreme power and empire over all kings and princes of the earth. As there is one God, the Monarch of all, who presides and rules over all mortals, so there is one vicar of God. Kings ought to be under Peter, and must bow down and submit their necks to him and his successors, who is prince and lord of all, whom all emperors, kings, and potentates, are subject to, and must humbly obey."

In the Extravagantes of Boniface VIII., it is asserted, that "It is necessary to salvation that all Christians should be subject to the Roman pontiff."

In the Glossa Extrav. of John XXII., the pontiff is styled "Dominus Deus noster Papa," "Our Lord God the Pope."

Bzovius de Pontif. Roman. Col. Agrip. chap. 1, 3, 16, 32 and 45, says "The pope is monarch of all Christians, supreme over all mortals. From him lies no appeal. He is judge in heaven; and in all earthly jurisdiction supreme; and arbiter of the world."

Moscovius, de Majest. Eccles. Militant. lib. 50, chap. 7, p. 26, says "The pope is universal judge, *king of kings, and lord of lords*, because his power is of God. God's tribunal and the pope's are the same, and they have the same consistory. All other powers are his subjects. The pope is judged of none but God."

Maynardus, de Privileg. Eccles. Art. 5, Sec. 19, 21, 23; Art. 6, Sec. 1, 11, 12, 13; Art. 13, Sec. 9. "Emperors and kings are the

pope's subjects. Emperors and kings may be deposed by the pope for heresy. The pope has power in the whole world, in spirituals and temporals. The pope is vicar of God, and preferred before all powers, as God himself; and every creature is subject to him. It is necessary to salvation to be subject to the pope, and he who affirms the contrary is no Christian. Statutes made by laymen do not bind the clergy."

Mancius, de Juv. Princip. Rom. Lib. 3, chap. 1, 2. "The pope is Lord of the whole world. The pope, as pope, has temporal power. The pope's temporal power is most eminent. All other powers depend on the pope."

So much for the supremacy of the pope. But in the eleventh century, by the decretals which were published, Gregory VII., maintained, that "The orders of the Roman court should be every where obeyed, and by all classes of persons, without delay or contradiction; that no civil law had any force or authority against its canons and decrees; that the tribunal of the Church is superior to that of the sovereign; and that the laws of the state ought only to be obeyed when they are not contrary to those of the Church." And let it not be forgotten that popery has never yielded any of its pretensions to supremacy, infallibility and unchangeableness. It claims to be now what it assumed to be in the darkest ages of the world. Its laws and its maxims against heresies are never revoked. Its sword is never sheathed; and is suspended only when its arm is paralyzed.

The doctrines and moral precepts it inculcates are offensive, not only to religion, but to virtue; and are the impure streams of a corrupt fountain.

In the *Corpus Juv. Canonici*, it is affirmed, that "The pope may depose princes, and absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance. The pope does by usual authority so absolve subjects from their oaths to superiors."

Urbanus II., Papa, Cap. Excommunic. 47, Caus. 23, Quest. 5, Apud Gratian, "They are not homicides, who from zeal for the Roman church kill those who are excommunicated." For it is elsewhere affirmed, that "Every excommunicated person is a member of the devil."

Spotswood's *Hist. of Scotland*, p. 308. "If the pope dispense with voluntary oaths, it is valid."

In the body of canon laws it is laid down, that "No oath against the benefit of the Church is binding. All such oaths are perjuries."

In the *Direct. Inquis. of Honorius III.*, p. 168, "The pope can make new articles of faith, and appoint how they shall be understood. The definitions of popes and councils are articles of faith." And in p. 675, "Persons bound to others who fall into heresy are released from their fidelity." In page 166, "A heretic should not be paid what is due to him, on a promise even of an oath." In

page 173, "All persons are forbidden to show any kindness to heretics."

Sanchez, *Op. Moral. Lib. 1*, chap. 10, No. 12, 13, p. 49. "An oath obliges not beyond the intention of him who takes it; because he who hath no intention to swear, cannot be obliged in conscience to any thing at all."

Sa, *Verb. Confessio*, No. 12, p. 88. "It is but a venial sin to lie unto a confessor in confessing sins."

Taberna. vol. 2, part 2, tract. 2, chap. 31, page 288. "If the deposition of a witness will injure him, he is not bound to declare the truth before a legitimate judge. Nor can a priest be forced to testify before a secular judge."

Filiucius. *Moral. Quest. Tom. 1*, tract 5, chap. 6. "A priest who hath received a large sum of money to say masses, may hire other priests, to sing them, as cheap as he can, and retain the surplus to himself."

These examples, which might be indefinitely extended, sufficiently prove the corruption which pervades the whole papal system. Others might be adduced, the bare recital of which would shock the moral feelings of the reader.

THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

THE system of computing and adjusting the periods of time in the narration of historical events, founded upon the assumed date of the nativity of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, has been adopted by all Christian nations. This system was introduced by Dionysius Exiguus, a theological writer, in the sixth century. In determining the date of our Savior's birth, there was a mistake in his computation of four years and six days. His chronological tables were compiled by this miscalculation of the true time; and the error has not been corrected. It is now universally admitted that the nativity occurred the 25th of December, in the year 3999; and that the rite of circumcision was performed the first day of the following year, or 4000 A. M. These statements are agreeable to the Hebrew text. In consequence of the error of Dionysius, the beginning of the Christian era dates from the first day of the year 4005. From this point of time the years are counted, in a retrograde ratio towards the creation, or forward to subsequent ages. By deducting the number of years from the creation at which any known event has occurred from 4004, the remainder will give the number of years before the commencement of the Christian era.

To any date subsequent, add 4004, to ascertain the number of years from the creation to the event proposed, or 4, to determine its distance from the true period of the nativity.

The assumption of a point of time for the beginning of any era, is altogether discretionary. Different nations have referred to different epochs, in their respective histories, to determine the period of any national event. As did the Romans, from the founding of their city, the Greeks from the institution of the Olympic games, the Mahometans from the flight of their prophet to Medina, the early Eastern historians, from the founding of the second kingdom of Babylon by Nabonassar. In the United States of America, the period of the declaration of their national independence is the epoch to which public records and documents most commonly refer.

Ancient chronologists differed widely in their several computations of the time between the creation of the world and the birth of Christ. Some of them assigned to it a series of 3483 years, others not less than 6984; and about two hundred different calculations have resulted in as many different statements. The extremes of these opinions are not less than thirty-five hundred years apart.

The most approved texts are the Hebrew, the Samaritan, and the Septuagint. The following statement will show the number of years computed to have elapsed, between the creation of the world and the birth of Christ, by these three versions of the Holy Scriptures:

Agreeably to the Hebrew text there were 4000 years.

"	"	Samaritan	"	"	4696	"
"	"	Septuagint	"	"	5875	"

To each of which must be added 4 years, to bring the computations to the period when the Christian era commenced. The Hebrew text is that most generally adopted; and forms the basis of the Chronology in the preceding pages.

The Julian period, as it has been termed, invented by the celebrated Scaliger, refers to no particular event; but is simply a sum of years obtained by multiplying successively into each other, the numbers, 19 or the years of the lunar cycle, 28 or those of the solar cycle, and 15 for the cycle of indictions.¹ The product will be 7980. In a retrograde computation it has been ascertained that No. 1, will not correspond with the three cycles at a period earlier than the 4714th year before the commencement of the Christian era. The year of the creation will therefore correspond with the

¹This period has no reference to any astronomical phenomena. Its assumption in the computation is altogether arbitrary. It is supposed to relate to certain judicial acts under the Greek emperors. It has been traced back to Constantine, and was introduced into the Chronology of the middle ages; and is still used by the papal court. The commencement of its computation is generally referred to the 1st of January 313.

710th year of the Julian period. If the number of years, before Christ, of any event be known, subtract that from 4714, the difference will be the year of the Julian period. Add the number of years of any event subsequent to the first of the Christian era to 4713, and the sum will be the year of the Julian period. It is evident that the beginning of this period is fixed at an imaginary point of time, before time was.

Whilst the Hebrews were in Egypt, their years commenced from the autumnal equinox; but after their settlement in Canaan, in commemoration of the time of their deliverance, the month Nisan,¹ which usually began about the time of the vernal equinox, was adopted as the first of the year. This therefore, was ever after observed as the commencement of the ecclesiastical year. The civil year continued, however, as it had been, beginning with the month Tisri. The appearance of a new Moon determined the point of time at which the month commenced. Their months were therefore strictly lunar; and to conform with the synodical course of the Moon, these consisted alternately of thirty and twenty-nine days. But as twelve lunar months falling short of a solar year would terminate the year of computation at too early a period, and thus derange their calendar of time, another month was intercalated every third year after the month Adar, which was therefore called Veadar. In consequence of this irregular and arbitrary computation, it has been found impossible to reduce their system to a correspondence with the calculations of time founded on the Julian period;² and to bring their respective dates to a conformity with each other.

The computation of a year of twelve months, with thirty days in each month, and an addition of five days, is of very great antiquity, and has been traced back to the remotest ages, among the Chaldeans and Egyptians. The chronology of the Book of Genesis seems to have been founded on this system, five months being made equal to one hundred and fifty days in the account of the Deluge. But this does not appear to have been retained by the Israelites after their settlement in Palestine.

The Feast of the Passover was celebrated on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, without respect to the day of the week; and this rule was observed by the Christians in keeping their Easter, until differences arose between the Jewish and Gentile converts on the question of the Mosaic rites; after this, some of them began this festival the Sunday immediately succeeding the fourteenth; alledging that the apostles Peter and Paul, had adopted that as the appropriate time; others adhered to the Jewish custom, on the authority, as they affirmed, of Philip and John. This separation oc-

¹Called by Moses, Abib. After the return from the captivity it received the name of Nisan.

²A Julian year consists of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours.

casioned a long and angry controversy between the Eastern and Western churches, until the council of Nice, decreed in the year 325, that "Easter should be on the Sunday that should follow next, immediately after the fourteenth of the Moon that should follow next after the vernal equinox; (which was then on the twenty-first of March;) and that it should be referred to the bishop of Alexandria, to calculate every year, on what day, according to these rules, the festival should begin." The retrocession of the equinox, by reason of the Julian year exceeding a true solar year, gave rise to a reform of the calendar in the sixteenth century; with a view of determining the true time of observing that festival, by correcting the errors in the computation of time.

Julius Cæsar, discovering that there was a difference of three months between the astronomical and civil equinox, adopted the solar year, as the correct measure of time, and abolished the ancient system of calculating by the revolutions or phases of the Moon. Numa had adopted the system of alternate months of twenty-nine and thirty days, with the intercalation of a month every second year, to consist alternately of twenty-two and twenty-three days. Julius Cæsar, with the assistance of the astronomer Sosigenes, reformed the Calendar, by decreeing, that a common year should consist of three hundred and sixty-five days, and every fourth year of three hundred and sixty-six. As the 24th of February, after which this additional day was inserted, was called "the sixth before the calends of March," the day thus inserted was called bissexto (twice sixth) calendas. From this is derived the English word bissextile, answering to our leap year.

The Julian year consisted, by this regulation, of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours; and was, therefore, longer than the true solar year by nearly twelve minutes. At that time, the astronomical equinox corresponded with the 25th day of March. In the year 325, it had retroceded to the 21st of that month. In the sixteenth century, or in the year 1582, it had fallen back to the 11th. Pope Gregory XIII., decreed, that ten days be suppressed; and that the day of the vernal equinox of that year should be inserted in the Calendar as the 21st of March, as it was in the year 325. To prevent a future recurrence of this irregularity, he ordered, "The intercalation which took place every fourth year to be omitted in years ending centuries; that is to say, on the 100th, 200th, &c., excepting on the 400th, and the years which are multiples of 400." In other words, "Every year of which the number is divisible by four without a remainder is a leap year; excepting the centesimal years, which are leap years only when divisible by four after suppressing the two zeros. Thus 1600 was a leap year; 1700 and 1800 were common years; 1900 will be a common year; 2000 a leap year."

The Julian Calendar is known as the Old Style, the Gregorian as the New Style. The Protestant States of Germany and the kingdom of Denmark, adhered to the Julian Calendar until the year 1700; and in England the New Style was formally adopted by Act of Parliament in the year 1752. The third of September was dated the fourteenth, as the law went into operation on that day. The countries under the government of the Greek church still adhere to the Old Style in their calculation of dates.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, FROM THE CREATION OF THE WORLD TO THE 16th CENTURY.

NOTE.—The dates refer to the commencement of the Christian era, and not to the true time of the nativity of Jesus Christ.

BEFORE CHRIST.

B. C.

- 4004 Creation of the world; 4000 years before the nativity of Jesus Christ.
- 3875 Cain murdered Abel; was cursed. From him descended the "sons of men."
- 3874 Birth of Seth, the second Patriarch. From him descended the "sons of God."
- 3017 Enoch translated to heaven without tasting death.
- 2347 Noah left the ark; offered a sacrifice to the Lord; and is blessed.
- 2341 Canaan the younger son of Ham cursed by Noah.
- 2247 The Tower of Babel built; and the posterity of Noah dispersed.
- 1921 Abraham called to be the father of God's chosen people.
- 1912 Abraham blessed by Melchizedek, king of Salem, and priest of God.
- 1897 Circumcision ordained.
- 1521 Job supposed to be cotemporary with Moses.
- 1491 The Passover instituted. The Israelites are commanded to take a lamb for every house, which was to be eaten roasted; and to mark their door posts with its blood, as a token that should preserve them amidst the impending judgment determined against the Egyptians.
- The Israelites murmur for water in the wilderness. The rock is smitten by Moses. In the third month after the Passover they arrive at Mount Sinai; and the law is given by God.
- 1490 The tabernacle is erected, and the ark placed in it. Aaron consecrated as high-priest. Priests and Levites appointed.
- 1451 Balaam sent for by Balak, king of Moab, to curse the Israelites

- 1451 The waters of Jordan are divided. The Israelites passed over, and took Jericho.
- 1413 The Israelites worshiped Baal and Ashtaroth; and were delivered to their enemies.
- 1046 The fortress of Zion taken by David from the Jebusites.
- 1011 The foundation of the first Temple laid by Solomon.
- 1004 The Temple finished; was dedicated; and the ark placed in it.
- 975 The kingdom divided.
- 726 Hezekiah destroyed all the altars of idolatry.
- 721 Shalmaneser besieged Samaria, and carried the ten tribes into Assyria.
- 629 Joshua destroyed the idols; repaired and purified the Temple.
- 625 The law discovered.
- 606 The seventy years captivity commenced. Jehoiachim carried to Babylon.
- 586 Jerusalem entirely destroyed by the Babylonians. Zedekiah, having seen all his children slain, was deprived of sight, and carried to Babylon.
- 536 Joshua returned with the Jews from the captivity. Commenced with Zerubbabel, to rebuild the Temple; but prevented by their enemies.
- 516 The Temple finished, and the Passover celebrated.
- 458 Ezra arrived at Jerusalem with a commission from Artaxerxes to re-establish the government; which was in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes.
- 445 Nehemiah permitted to go to Jerusalem to re-build its walls.
- 434 The historical part of the Old Testament closed, by the Book of Nehemiah.
- 348 The Grecian philosopher, Plato, flourished about this time.
- 342 Jaddus, in his priestly attire, met Alexander the Great, and showed him the prophecy of Daniel, in which his conquests were foretold.
- 331 The city of Alexandria founded.
- 273 Eleazar sent to Ptolemy Philadelphus, six men of every tribe to translate the sacred Books into Greek; which translation is called the Septuagint.
- 63 Pompey the Great entered Jerusalem; and conferred the government on Antipater.
- 37 Herod the Great declared king of Judea by a decree of the Roman senate.
- 31 Octavius Cæsar triumphed over all his enemies in the battle of Actium.
- Virgil, the poet, flourished in the court of Augustus.
- Jesus Christ was born, Dec. 25th, in the year of the world 3999. In the year 4000, Joseph, with Mary and Jesus, fled to Egypt. Herod the Great died; and Joseph returned to Judea.

The Christian era commenced January 1st, A. M. 4005, or four years and six days after the nativity of Jesus Christ. In the following table, therefore, four years must be added to any given date to determine the true period from his birth. For example: The time of his crucifixion is inserted in the table as having occurred, A. D. 33, to this add 4, and it will be found that, that event took place in the 37th year of his age. This rule will apply to every other date in the table. The present year, 1845, should have been 1849.

A. D.

- 8 Jesus Christ, twelve years old, appeared in the Temple. In that year, Archelaus, the fourth son of Herod the Great, was deposed from the kingdom of Judea, by Octavius Cæsar, (Augustus,) and banished to Vienne, in Gaul; and Judea was made a Roman province. The sceptre departed from Judah; Gen. xlix. 10.
- 26 The ministry of the Gospel begun by John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus Christ; Mark i. 1, and Luke xvi. 16; which he carried on three and a half years.
- 29 Jesus Christ baptized by John. About the time of the autumnal equinox, John having been put in prison by Herod Antipas, Christ appeared personally in the ministry of his Gospel, and carried it on three years and a half more.
- 30 Marriage in Cana, where Jesus converted the water into wine.
— Jesus celebrated his first Passover.
- 31 Second Passover celebrated. The sermon on the Mount.
- 32 Mission of the apostles into several parts of Judea.
— Miracle of the loaves and fishes.
— Celebration of the third Passover.
— Transfiguration on the Mount.
— Mission of the seventy-two disciples.
- 33 Lazarus raised from the dead.
— Jesus went to Jerusalem to celebrate his fourth and last Passover. Sunday, March 29th, (9th of the month Nisan,) arrived at Bethany, and supped with his disciples. His triumphant entry into Jerusalem the following day. Thursday, April 2d, (13th of Nisan,) passed the day on the Mount of Olives. Peter and John sent into the city to prepare for the Passover. In the evening he supped with his disciples, and instituted the Eucharist. Retired after supper into the garden of Gethsemane; and was seized by Judas with a band of soldiers. Conducted to Annas, father-in-law of the high-priest Caiaphas, the same night.
- 33 Friday, April 3d, (14th of Nisan,) Jesus carried to Pilate; accused; condemned, and crucified on Calvary.
— Sunday morning, April 5th, (16th of Nisan,) he rose from the dead.

- 33 May 14th; ascended into heaven on the 40th day after his resurrection. Ten days after, being the Feast of Pentecost, the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles.
- 34 Seven deacons chosen. Stephen was martyred. The Church persecuted by Saul. In this year the believers in Jerusalem were dispersed.
- 44 James the Greater beheaded by Herod Agrippa; and Peter imprisoned.
- 51 Judaizing Christians enforced the law on converted Gentiles.
- Council at Jerusalem determined, that converted Gentiles should not be bound to an observance of the legal ceremonies. Peter soon after reproved by Paul.
- 62 Paul arrived in Rome,¹ where he remained a prisoner two years.
- 64 Peter's first Epistle written in Babylon.
- First persecution of the Christians, under Nero; who reigned from 54 to 68.
- 66 Paul carried back to Rome.
- 67 Paul martyred. It has been conjectured that Peter was then crucified.
- 68 Christians in Jerusalem fled to Pella to escape the impending dangers.
- 69 Titus commenced the siege of Jerusalem.
- 70 September 8th. The city taken by the Romans, and the Temple utterly destroyed.
- 95 Second persecution of the Christians, under Domitian; who reigned from 81 to 96. Under this persecution the Apostle John was banished to the Isle of Patmos.
- 96 Domitian, the last of the twelve Cæsars, assassinated by his own wife. He was succeeded by Nerva, who recalled the Christians from banishment.
- 100 The Apostle John died at Ephesus, whither he had returned in 96 from Patmos.
- 107 Third persecution of the Christians, under Trajan; who reigned from 98 to 117.
- 115 Alexander, bishop of Rome, ordered water to be mixed with the wine, in the administration of the Lord's Supper.
- 119 Persecution of the Christians continued by Adrian; who reigned from 117 to 138.
- 124 The priests required by Sixtus I., bishop of Rome, to officiate in linen surplices.

¹ Paul, three days after his arrival in Rome, called the chief of the Jews together, and explained to them the cause of his imprisonment. They replied, that they had heard nothing against him; "But," they said, "we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest; for as concerning this sect, we know that it is every where spoken against." This utter ignorance of the chief of the Jews, is not consistent with the pretension of Peter's having then been bishop of Rome twenty years, or from the year 42 to 62, as the Papists affirm. See Acts xxviii. 22.

- 126 Quadratus, a disciple of the apostles, wrote an apology for the Christians. Adrian thereupon ordered that they be punished only for a breach of the laws.
- 130 Prodicus, founder of the Adamites, who worshipped naked.
- 134 Marcion wrote the *Atitheses*, and blended the Eastern doctrines with Christianity.
- 142 Valentinus, who maintained the doctrines of the Gnostics.
- 150 Feast of the Passover, first celebrated on Sunday, by order of Pius I.
- Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, and disciple of Polycarp, author of 5 Books against Heretics. Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, author of a defense of Christianity. Clemens, disciple of Pantænus, author of *Stromata*, *Pedagogue*, &c. Athenagoras, author of a *Treatise on the Resurrection*, all flourished about this time, and after.
- 152 Antoninus Pius, who reigned from 136 to 161, prohibited the persecution.
- 158 Great controversy in the Church as to the time of celebrating Easter.¹
- 163 Fourth persecution, under Marcus Aurelius, who reigned from 161 to 180. About this time died Polycarp, at the age of eighty, the victim of persecution.
- 165 Justin Martyr died; another victim to the persecution by the Pagans.
- 171 Montanus, who believed in two Holy Ghosts, opposed second marriages, and the reception to repentance of such as had lapsed.
- 175 Appelles, who maintained that the body of Christ was a mere *fantasm*. About this time the Platonics, or Eclectics appeared first in Alexandria.
- 177 Persecution of the Christians increased. Apology for them by Athenagoras.
- 190 Tertullian wrote an apology for the Christians in the reign of Commodus.
- 202 Fifth persecution under Severus, who reigned from 193 to 211. This persecution was continued to the end of his reign.
- 205 Tertullian, mortified by the ill treatment he had received from the clergy of Rome, embraced the doctrines of Montanus.
- 212 The Christian religion introduced into Scotland.
- 222 Christians favored by the emperor Alexander, who reigned from 222 to 235.

¹ The English word *Easter*, and the German *Ostern*, are derived from the Teutonic Goddess *Ostera*, (Anglo-Saxon *Eostre*;) whose festival was celebrated by the ancient Saxons, with peculiar solemnities, in the month of April. *Estera*, or the Goddess of the East: in the Syriac *Estero*; in the Phœnician *Istarte*. The term is one of idolatrous origin, and was appropriately received by the Romish church, which had already begun to worship the "Host of Heaven," or *Astaroth*.

- 222 Ember-weeks instituted by Calixtus, bishop of Rome.
- 230 About this time the first churches were erected for public worship. The acts of the Martyrs directed to be enrolled in the archives of the Church.
- 235 Sixth persecution, under Maximinus, who reigned from 235 to 238.
- 250 Seventh persecution, under Decius, who reigned from 249 to 251. The Eremites.
- 251 After the death of Fabian, bishop of Rome, there was a vacancy in the see for eighteen months. During this schism, Novatian a presbyter, withdrew from the communion with the Romish church, and organized a church on scriptural principles. His followers were called Cathari, or Puritans. Dawn of the Reformation.
- 253 Origen; died at the age of sixty-eight. Author of the Hexapla, commentaries, &c.
- Controversy between Stephen I., bishop of Rome and Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, on the question of re-baptizing those who had lapsed.
- 257 Eighth persecution, under Valerian; who reigned from 254 to 260.
- Sabellius of Ptolemais maintained that there is but one person in the Godhead.
- 262 Paul, bishop of Antioch, denied the divinity of Jesus Christ.
- 269 Council at Antioch decreed, that the Son is not of the same essence with the Father. The followers of Paul called Paulianists. Their doctrines were the same as those now maintained by the Socinians.
- 273 Ninth persecution, under Aurelian; who reigned from 270 to 275.
- Yearly sacrifices commemorative of the martyrs instituted by Felix I.
- 277 Manes, founder of the sect of Manichæans. See history for his doctrines.
- Minucius Felix wrote Dialogues (entitled Octavius) in defense of the Christians.
- 283 Hierax, founder of the sect of the Hieracians, who maintained that Melchizidek was the Holy Ghost, and denied the resurrection.
- 296 Athanasius, the celebrated founder of the sect of the Athanasians, born this year.
- 303 Tenth and last general persecution of the Christians, under Diocletian and Maximinus, who reigned jointly from 286 to 304 when both resigned the crown.
- 306 Constantine the Great proclaimed emperor.
- 307 Licinius made emperor by Galerius and Diocletian, and united with Constantine.

- 311 Donatus, Head of the Donatists, Bishop of Casæ Nigræ, denied, the validity of baptism out of his church, and the infallibility of the Romish Church.
- 313 Persecution arrested, by the edict of Constantine and Licinius.
- Palace of Plautinus Lateranus, who had been proscribed in the time of Nero; given by Constantine to Melchiades, Bishop of Rome. Hence the term Lateran.
- 314 Origin of the Vaudois Church, agreeably to the Historian Crantz, when Leo opposed the innovation of Sylvester I, and the Churches of the Valleys protested against the increasing usurpations of the Roman See.
- 316 Arius denied the unity of the Godhead of Jesus Christ with the Father.
- 322 Licinius banished the Christians from Rome and prohibited their holding councils.
- 323 Licinius defeated by Constantine, and compelled to abdicate the Throne.
- 325 First Ecumenical Council (at Nice.) Arius condemned. The Nicene Creed composed. The time of celebrating Easter fixed for the first Sunday after the Paschal full Moon. The term *Consubstantial* first used by this Council. Athanasius opposed the doctrines of Arius—He maintained ‘one God in Trinity; and the Trinity in Unity.’
- 335 Arnobius, Teacher of Rhetoric in Numidia, wrote seven Books against the Gentiles.
- 336 The signing of the Nicene Creed, and giving the Pall to the Bishop introduced.
- Lactantius, wrote the Divine Institutions against Pagan superstitions.
- 337 Constantine the Great died. Succeeded by his sons, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius: among whom the several parts of the Empire were divided.
- 340 Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, died at the age of seventy. Author of Ecclesiastical History, Chronicon, Preparatio Evangelica, &c.
- Hilary, about this time, Bishop of Poitiers; wrote 12 Books on the Trinity.
- Dreadful persecutions of the Christians, in Persia, which continued 40 years.
- Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis wrote against Heretics.
- Optatus, Bishop of Mil. wrote six books against the Donatists.
- Gregory Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nyssa flourished in this Century.
- 350 Aërius, Presbyter of Sebastia opposed the Government of the Romish Church.

- 355 Liberius, Bishop of Rome, banished by the Emperor Constantius; and Felix II. elevated to the Episcopal office.
- 358 Liberius subscribed to the Arian doctrines, and was restored to the Episcopate.
- 360 Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, maintained, that "The Holy Ghost is a Divine energy diffused throughout the universe, and not a distinct Person from the Father and the Son."
- 361 Julian, the Emperor, abjured Christianity, and permitted the Pagans to erect Temples.
- 362 Christians persecuted, and many of them relapsed into Paganism.
- 363 Julian ordered the Temple in Jerusalem to be rebuilt. Flames of fire destroyed the workmen.
- Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari, withdrew with his followers from communion with the Romish Church, on account of the act of absolution it had passed in favor of those, who, under Constantius, had deserted to the Arians.
- Eusebius Bishop of Vercell, and Paulinus Bishop of Antioch, Arians.
- 366 Bloody contest in Rome, between Damasius and Ursicinus, for the Episcopal Seat.
- 379 Theodosius the Great, reigned from 379 to 395. In his reign, and by his influence, the Roman Senate formally decreed the abolition of the Pagan religion. After his death, the Empire was divided permanently into East and West, or Greek and Latin.
- 380 Second Ecumenical Council (at Constantinople.) The Macedonians condemned.
- 384 Siricius, the first Bishop of Rome who assumed the exclusive title of POPE.
- 386 Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, Author of Catechetical Discourses. Rufinus, Presbyter of Aquileia, wrote Translations of Greek Authors.
- John, surnamed Chrysostom, Bishop, successively, of Antioch, and Constantinople.
- 399 Jovian, opposed the reigning superstitions of the Church. Condemned first in Rome, and afterward by a Council in Milan under the authority of Ambrose, Bishop.
- 400 Pope Anastasius introduced the form of standing up whilst the Gospel is read.
- Pelagius, denied the existence of original sin, and the operation of Grace in conversion.
- 410 Vigilantius, propagated his doctrines of Reform.
- 418 Tapers introduced into the Churches by Zozimus. For his forgeries see History.

- 419 Violent contest for the Papal Chair, between Eulalius and Boniface. The latter succeeded in driving his competitor out of Rome by the aid of the populace.
- 420 The celebrated Jerome died at the age of 89. His Latin version of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew was the foundation of the Vulgate.
- 423 The Semi-Pelagians taught, that the salvation of man originates in himself.
- 429 Nestorius, Syrian Bishop of Constantinople, acknowledged two persons in Jesus Christ.
- 430 The celebrated Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, died at the age of 76.
- 431 Third Ecumenical Council (at Ephesus.) Nestorius and the Pelagians condemned.
- Isidore of Pelusium. A man of learning and piety.
- 447 Eutyches asserted, that there was only one nature in Christ.
- 449 A Council at Ephesus confirmed the doctrines of Eutyches.
- 451 Fourth Ecumenical Council (at Chalcedon.) Eutychianism and Nestorianism condemned.
- Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, maintained the doctrines of Nestorius.
- 457 Christians persecuted by the Vandals in Africa, under Genseric.
- Orosius refuted the cavils of the Pagans against Christianity.
- 465 The Golden number rectified. The Litany introduced in the service by Pope Hilary.
- Theodore of Mopsuestia, maintained the doctrines of Nestorius, and Ibas of Edessa.
- 482 Peter, surnamed Fullo, founder of the sect of the Theopachites, an Eutychian.
- 483 Christians persecuted in Africa, under Huneric.
- 490 Felix II. (The Felix in the 4th Century is called Anti-Pope,) decreed that churches should be consecrated by Bishops only.
- 494 Gelasius I, ordered a new Canon of Scripture, condemning, as spurious, Books which had previously been received by the Church as canonical.
- 496 Clovis, and 3000 of his subjects, baptized. Christians persecuted by Thrasamund, in Africa.
- 497 Pope Anastasius II, excommunicated the Greek Emperor for favoring the Monophysites; but afterward maintained their doctrine of one nature in Jesus Christ.
- 498 Violent contest for the Papal Chair, between Symmachus and Laurentius.
- 504 Christians persecuted in Africa by the Vandals.
- 514 The Emperor Justinus confirmed the election of Pope Hormisdas, by his Ambassadors.

- 526 Pope John I. cast into prison by Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, where he died.
- 528 The chancel divided from the Church. Extreme unction first introduced. The order of the Benedictine Monks instituted.
- 530 Contest for the Papacy between Dioscorides and Boniface.
- 537 Pope Sylverus degraded from his office, and banished by Belisarius, on a charge of treachery.
- Vigilius purchased the vacant see for 200 lbs. of gold.¹ Refusing afterward to assent to the decrees of the council, (of Constantinople in 553,) he was seized by the order of the emperor Justinian I., carried to that city, drawn about the streets with a halter around his neck, and banished.
- 540 The Monothelites, who acknowledged only one will in Jesus Christ.
- Gregory of Tours, the father of Gallic history.
- 553 Fifth ecumenical council, (at Constantinople,) Origenism, and the Three Chapters condemned.
- In this year, nine bishops of Italy and Switzerland, withdrew from the communion of the Romish church, and the churches under their care persisted in their dissent.
- 558 Pope Pelagius I. decreed that schismatics should be punished with death.
- 560 The Tritheists acknowledged three Gods in the Trinity, and denied the resurrection.
- 565 Columba the Apostle of the Picts, established a church on scriptural principles.
- 578 Pope Pelagius II., having been elected whilst Rome was besieged by the Lombards, sent an embassy to the emperor, Tiberius Constantine, to excuse the proceeding.
- Liberatus wrote a compendious history of the Eutychian and Nestorian controversies.
- 580 Leovigeld, king of the Goths in Spain, persecuted those opposed to Arianism.
- 588 John, Patriarch of Constantinople, assumed the title of Universal Bishop conceded to him by a council. Pope Pelagius pronounced such a claim, execrable, profane, and diabolical.
- 590 Pope Gregory I., or the Great, declared it presumptuous in any prelate to style himself Universal Bishop, or Head of the Church, and called himself, "the servant of the servants of God."
- 600 Gregory formally condemned the Patriarch of Constantinople for assuming the title of Universal Bishop, "which," says Gibbon, "he was too haughty to concede, and too feeble to assume."

¹Gibbon's Roman Empire.

- 602 The emperor Mauritius, dethroned by the usurper Phocas. Five of his children were massacred in his presence, and he afterward slain. His wife and three daughters were dragged out of a church, and savagely butchered. There were no bounds to the lewdness and ferocity of the tyrant. Gregory congratulated him on his accession, "We rejoice," said he, "to find the gentleness of your piety equal to your imperial dignity. Let the heavens rejoice, and the earth be glad," &c.
- 606 Title of Universal Bishop conferred by Phocas, on Gregory's successor, Boniface III. This concession laid the foundation of the temporal power of the popes.
- 612 Mohammed published his Koran.
- 613 All-hallow-day instituted. The Pantheon dedicated to the Virgin Mary.
- 620 The churches made places of refuge, by Boniface V., for thieves and murderers.
- 630 Institution of the festival of the exaltation of the cross, by Honorius I.
- 633 Honorius subscribed to the doctrines or heresies of the Monothelites.
- 639 Ecthesis of the emperor Heraclius. Controversy on the question of one or two wills in Jesus Christ, prohibited.
- 648 Prohibition confirmed by Constans II. in his edict called the Type.
- 650 Priests required to submit to the ceremony of the tonsure, and to abstain from marrying.
- Martin I. deposed from the papacy by the emperor, and banished to the Isle of Naxos, for having condemned in a council at Rome, the Ecthesis and the Type.
- 660 Constantine Sylvanus of Mananalis, near Samosata, revived the Paulicians.
- 668 The English bishops, says Bede, were at this period generally ordained by the presbyters of the Culdee churches established in Scotland.
- 671 The organ used first in public worship. The service performed in Latin in England.
- 678 Agatho, after his election, refused to pay to the emperor the customary tribute.
- 680 Sixth ecumenical council, (at Constantinople,) Monothelites condemned, and Pope Honorius I. and several other bishops were solemnly anathematized.
- 682 Further restraints imposed on the marriage of the clergy; kissing the slipper introduced.
- 684 Benedict II., the first pope who was called, "the Vicar of Christ."

- 686 Three claimants, Conon, Peter, and Theodore, contend for the Papal chair, after the death of John V. Schism for some time in the Church. Conon succeeded.
- 687 After the death of Conon, another contest for the succession took place. Pascal, Sergius, and Theodore were the competitors.
- 711 Justinian II., emperor, the rival of Nero in cruelty, was deposed in 695, and restored in 705. He servilely kissed the feet of Pope Constantine; and this act was claimed as a precedent for exacting that homage as due to the Vicars of Christ.
- 725 Peter-pence first granted in England by Ina, king of the West Saxons, to support an English college in Rome.
- 726 Edict of the Emperor Leo III., the Isaurian, against the worship of images.
- 733 The worshippers of images, persecuted by the Iconoclasts.
- 750 Colony of Paulicians transported from Asia to Thrace, by Constantine Copronymus.
- 752 Childeric, king of France, deposed by Pepin, with the sanction of Pope Zachary.
- 755 The Exarchate of Ravenna, and Pentapolis, conferred on Pope Stephen II. by Pepin. This is the true epoch of the temporal power of the popes.
- 757 Schism in the Church. A contest for the papacy, between Paul and Theophylact.
- 767 Another schism. Stephen and Constantine contend for the vacant chair. Worshipping and censuring of images introduced by Stephen III.
- 774 Charlemagne confirmed the grants made by Pepin to the Roman see, and added the dukedoms of Spoleto and Benevento, claimed by Adrian I., as ancient donations to the Church by Constantine the Great.
- 787 Seventh ecumenical council (at Nice.) Image worship decreed. Against the decrees of this council, Paulinus, bishop of Aquileia, and other Italian bishops, firmly protested. They rejected them, denied that Peter had a supremacy over the other apostles, and opposed the opinion, beginning then to prevail, that the bread and wine by consecration, in the Eucharist, are converted into the body and blood of Christ.
- 792 Felix of Urgel, maintained that Jesus Christ was the Son of God only by adoption.
- 800 Charlemagne went to Rome. Pope Leo III. prostituted his keys and the Roman liberties at his feet, for which, the populace drew him from his horse, and whipped him.
- 801 Institution of the Rogations, or Litanies, on the three days before the feast of Ascension.

- 817 Claude, bishop of Turin, wrote various commentaries on the Bible, and opposed the superstitious rites of the Romish church, particularly the worship of images.
- 824 Schism in the Church. Zizimus and Eugenius claimed the vacant chair.
- 833 Gregory IV., threatening to excommunicate the emperor, Louis le Debonnaire, was firmly opposed by the bishops of France.
- 835 Feast of All-saints instituted by Gregory IV.
- 844 Sergius II. Before his election his name was Bocca di Porca, or, Swine's mouth. He was the first pope who assumed a new name when elected. His successors have followed his example.
- 850 Peter-pence paid by Ethelwolfe, king of England, to Leo IV.
- 855 Schism in the Church. Contest between Benedict and Anastasius, for the papacy.
- 866 Missionaries sent among the Bulgarians.
- 869 Eighth ecumenical council, (at Constantinople,) Photius deposed and excommunicated, and Ignatius restored to the patriarchate.
- 878 Johannes Scotus wrote against the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist.
- 891 Schism in the Church. Formosus and Sergius contend for the see of Rome.
- 894 Borsivoi, king of Bohemia, embraced Christianity.
- 896 Body of Pope Formosus exhumed by the order of Pope Stephen VI., tried and condemned, and brutally mutilated. All his official acts were annulled.
- 897 Stephen VI., the year after his accession, violently deposed, and strangled.
- 898 Romanus declared his acts to have been illegal. Romanus reigned three weeks.
- 899 Theodore II., his successor, restored the acts of Formosus.
- 900 Beginning of what is commonly called "the Dark Age."
- John IX. again confirmed the decrees of Formosus, and annulled those of Stephen.
- 903 Leo V. dethroned and imprisoned forty days after his accession, by Christopher.
- 904 Christopher dethroned and imprisoned six months after, by Sergius III.
- 910 The bearing of candles at the feast of the purification of the Virgin Mary, ordained by Sergius; thence called Candlemas-day. He rescinded all the decrees of Formosus.
- 928 John X., the lover of Theodora, imprisoned and strangled.
- 933 John XI., the bastard son of Pope Sergius III. and Marozia, deposed and imprisoned; where he died in 936. He was suspected of having poisoned both of his immediate predecessors, Leo VI. and Stephen VII.

- 963 John XII. Polluted from his youth with all kinds of villainy and dishonesty, was deposed by Otho the Great; in the following year he was killed in the act of adultery. Two popes were elected after his deposition; one by a council, and another by the inhabitants of Rome.
- 965 The right of choosing the popes remitted to the emperor, by Leo VIII.
- 970 Baptizing of bells instituted by John XIII. A numerous colony of Paulicians transported from Armenia to Thrace, by the emperor John Zimisceus.
- 974 Benedict VI. imprisoned and strangled in the castle of St. Angelo.
- Boniface VII. forced to leave Rome one month after his elevation, stole the Church ornaments and treasures, and fled to Constantinople.
- 984 Boniface returned to Rome. John XIV. who occupied the papal chair, was imprisoned by him, after having his eyes taken out. Boniface died soon after.
- 993 First instance of a solemn canonization, of Udalric, bishop of Augsburg.
- 996 Gregory V., elevated to the Pontificate by Otho III; expelled from Rome.
- 997 Christianity embraced by Stephen I., king of Hungary.
- 998 Pope John XV. (called by some Chronologers the XVI. from the inextricable confusion in the succession) expelled by Otho, and inhumanly treated by the soldiers; and Gregory V. restored by his authority.
- 1007 Thirteen Paulicians burnt in Orleans (France) as heretics.
- 1012 Benedict VIII. expelled from Rome by his competitor Gregory, soon after his elevation; but restored by the authority of the emperor, Henry II.
- 1026 Paulicians numerous in Milan. They are called Paterines.
- 1033 Benedict IX., "a most abandoned profligate, and a wretch capable of the most horrid crimes. His flagitious conduct drew upon him the just resentment of the Romans, and in 1038 he was degraded from his office;" soon after restored by the emperor Conrad, but for his scandalous life and repeated crimes he was again expelled in 1044 by the people, who placed Sylvester III. in the office. About three months after he returned, drove Sylvester out of the city, and sold the papal chair to Gregory VI. Three Popes, and schism in the Church.
- 1046 Council convened at Sutri by the emperor Henry III.; declared Benedict, Sylvester and Gregory unworthy of the seat, and elected a fourth Pope, Clement II. Nine months after Clement was poisoned, and Benedict, who had sold his right, returned, and took forcible possession of the seat.

- 1047 Damasius II. sent from Germany by the emperor, dispossessed Benedict ; but twenty-three days after he died suddenly.
- 1048 Leo IX. appointed his successor by the Emperor, in a council held at Worms.
- About this time the celebrated Berenger began to oppose the doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist.
- 1053 Pope Leo IX. commanding an army against the Normans, was taken prisoner, confined in Benevento, and died the following year in Rome.
- 1054 Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, completed the schism which had long occasioned angry controversies between the Greek and Latin churches.
- 1058 Benedict X. seized the Papacy after the death of Stephen IX., and expelled John, bishop of Veletri, another aspirant equally unsuccessful.
- 1060 Nicholas II. changed the mode of electing the Popes ; and instituted a college of Cardinals.
- 1061 Bloody contest for the papal chair between Honorius II. and Alexander II.
- 1073 Hildebrand or Gregory VII. elected, contrary to the decree of Nicholas, by the united votes of the Cardinals, the Bishops, the Abbots, the Monks, and the People. He was the last Pope whose election was confirmed by the emperor.
- 1075 Disputes about the investiture of ecclesiastical livings angrily sustained between the emperor Henry IV. and Gregory VII.
- 1080 Gregory deposed by Henry in a council at Mentz ; and in a council at Brixen, Clement III. elected Pope.
- 1084 Gregory fled to Salernum ; and Clement crowned Henry in Rome.
- 1085 Violent contest for the Papacy, between Clement III. and Victor III.
- 1088 After the death of Victor another competitor appeared, Urban II., who, from his factious disposition was called Turbulens.
- 1100 "The Noble Lesson" written by a Waldensian pastor.
- 1110 Peter de Bruis, who preached the doctrines of the Reformation, and wrote the celebrated treatise on Anti-Christ.
- 1111 Terrible tumults in the Church of St. Peter ; Pope Pascal II. seized by the Emperor Henry V., and confined in the castle of Viterbo.
- 1112 A council in the Lateran annulled the treaty between the emperor and the pope. Successive councils and synods in France and Germany excommunicated Pascal, and declared him a heretic. Schisms in the Church by the pretensions to the papacy of Albrecht, Theodore, and Maginulph.

- 1118 After the death of Pascal, Gelasius II. and Gregory VIII. were competitors for the succession; and the contest continued after the death of Gelasius by Calixtus II.
- 1119 Council at Toulouse, condemned the Paulicians, or Albigenes, as heretics.
- 1120 Confession of Faith of the Vaudois, containing the true scriptural doctrines.
- 1123 Ninth ecumenical council (1st of Lateran.) Crusade urged and reform attempted.
- 1130 Another schism in the Church. The college of cardinals divided. Innocent II., and Anacletus II., elected by their respective factions. Gregory, a third claimant.
- 1138 Rise of the Guelph and Ghibelin parties.
- 1139 Tenth ecumenical council (2d of Lateran.) Pope Anacletus condemned. Arnold of Brescia, disciple of Abelard, excommunicated.
- 1145 Dreadful civil commotions in Rome. Pope Lucius II., killed in a riot.
- 1153 Arnold of Brescia, tried and condemned by an assembly of cardinals, and burnt.
- 1159 Another schism in the Church. One faction of cardinals elected Alexander III., and another, Victor IV. Alexander fled to France. After the death of Victor, his faction elected Pascal III., and after his death, Calixtus III. succeeded to the Papacy in 1168. Another claimant appeared in the person of Innocent.
- 1160 Paulicians, in England, condemned at Oxford: treated cruelly, and driven into the woods to perish. Peter Waldo preached the doctrines of the Reformation.
- 1163 Synod at Tours; prohibited all persons from associating with the Albigenes and Waldenses.
- 1171 The Monastic Order of the Carmelites, called afterward, our Lady's Brethren.
- 1176 Council at Lombez, condemned the Albigenes as heretics.
- 1177 Schism in the Church healed by the final triumph of Alexander III.
- 1178 Eleventh ecumenical council (3d of Lateran.) Crusade against the Albigenes. Two-thirds of the votes of the cardinals required for the election of a Pope. The right of canonization rested in the Pope exclusively. Some date this council in 1179.
- 1179 Alphonso I., duke of Portugal, received from Alexander the title of King.
- 1181 Pope Lucius III., published an edict against the Waldenses.
- 1184 Pope Lucius twice driven out of Rome; died the following year at Verona.

- 1191 Pope Celestine III., placed the crown on the head of Henry VI., and kicked it off; saying, "By me Kings reign." Not long after he excommunicated him; as he did Alphonso, King of Gallacia and Leon.
- 1195 Ildefonsus, king of Arragon, published an edict against the Waldenses.
- 1200 Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, divided the Holy Scriptures (except the Psalms which were always divided) into chapters. The Titloi and Kephalaia of the Greek Bibles only pointed out their contents.
- 1206 Commission from Innocent III., to Rainico and Castelnau, to inquire after heresy in the southern provinces of France. The origin of the Holy Inquisition.
- 1208 John, king of England, excommunicated by Innocent. Crusade against the Albigenes.
- 1209 The city of Beziers taken. The inhabitants destroyed and the city laid in ashes.
- The order of Mendicant Friars instituted. Patronized by Innocent.
- 1210 The emperor Otho IV., excommunicated by Innocent.
- 1213 Great slaughter of the Albigenes, in the battle of Murch on the Garonne.
- 1215 Twelfth ecumenical council (4th of Lateran.) Raymond, count of Toulouse, and the Albigenes condemned. The word *Transubstantiation* first used in this council in opposition to the doctrine of Berenger; as *Consubstantial* had been introduced in the first council of Nice against the Arians. Auricular confession made imperative. A Pix to cover the Host, and ringing the bell, introduced.
- 1218 The crusade against the Albigenes renewed with increased cruelties.
- 1225 The fraternity of the Trinity; styled in the ancient records the order of Asses.
- 1229 The council of Toulouse prohibited the reading of the Scriptures by the laity.
- 1233 The order of Servites, in commemoration of the most holy widowhood of the blessed Virgin Mary.
- The Dominicans, or preaching Friars, intrusted with the inquisitorial powers.
- John of Paris, opposed the usurpations of the Pope, and the doctrine of the real presence.
- 1245 Thirteenth ecumenical council (1st of Lyons.) In its last session, Innocent IV. pronounced the excommunication and deposition of Frederick II., emperor; and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance.
- 1246 The annual festival of the Holy Sacrament instituted at Liege.

- 1247 Robert Grostete, or Greathead, opposed the exactions of the papal court; and maintained the scriptural doctrine of the free and unmerited grace of God.
- 1250 Contest between the Guelph and Ghibelin parties.
- 1256 The order of Augustine established by Alexander IV., supposed to have originated in the eighth century, called in Paris, the religious of St. Genevieve.
- 1260 The sect of Flagellants.
- 1264 The annual festival of the Holy Sacrament revived by Urban IV.
- 1268 Schism in the Church; and an interregnum of three years, when Gregory X. was elected. John, surnamed Pungens Asinus, a doctor of the Sorbonne, adopted the term *Consubstantiation* to express the nature of the presence in the Eucharist.
- 1274 Fourteenth ecumenical council (2d of Lyons.) Attempt to reunite the Greek and Latin Churches. It was ordained that the cardinal electors should be confined in conclave after the death of a Pope, and until a new election was made.
- 1277 Schism, and an interregnum of six months. Nicholas III., obtained the papal chair.
- 1282 Sicilian vespers on Easter Sunday. Every Frenchman on the Island murdered. This arose from the usurpation of Charles of Anjou in 1266, through the influence of Clement IV. The massacre was instigated by pope Martin IV.
- 1292 Schism in the Church, by the division in the electoral college. Three years transpired before an election was made. Celestine V. was at length chosen; but resigned four months after. Boniface VIII. succeeded him, and imprisoned him for life.
- 1299 The Festival of a Centennial Jubilee instituted by Boniface.
- 1300 The first Jubilee celebrated in Rome; and yielded an immense profit to the see.
- 1303 Boniface seized at Anagni by the emissaries of the king of France, and severely wounded.
- 1304 Benedict XI. poisoned; and an interregnum of eleven months followed.
- 1309 Clement V. removed the papal court to Avignon (France.) The sale of indulgences was made from this time a source of immense revenue to the popes.
- 1311 Council at Vienne, in France, confirmed the edict of Urban IV., for the annual celebration of the Festival of the Holy Sacrament. This has been considered the fifteenth ecumenical council of the Church.
- 1314 Schism. After an interregnum of two years, John XXII., was elected.
- 1322 Walter the Lollard, burnt in Cologne.

- 1328 John declared by Lewis of Bavaria, unworthy of the pontificate; was deposed, and driven out of Rome. Nicholas V. elevated, and crowned Lewis emperor.
- 1330 Nicholas resigned his claim, and delivered himself to John, who confined him in prison for the remainder of his days.
- 1332 Bull of pope John XXII. against the Waldenses.
- 1334 Another schism. Several months intervened from the death of John to the election of his successor. Benedict XII. was finally elected.
- 1343 Clement VI., reduced the circle of the Jubilee to 50 years.
- 1347 Nicholas Gabrini, surnamed Rienzi, restored the tribunate at Rome.
- 1350 John Wickliffe commenced his opposition to the corrupt practices of the Romish church, which he continued until his death in 1384.
- 1360 John de Rupe Scessa, burnt by Innocent VI., for his predictions concerning anti-Christ.
- 1370 Urban V. poisoned.
- 1376 The papal court re-established in Rome by Gregory XI.
- 1378 Great schism of the West. The cardinals terrified by the populace elected Urban VI. They retired soon after to Fondi, and elected Clement VII. On the death of Urban 1389, his faction elected Boniface IX. Clement died in 1394, and was succeeded by Benedict XIII.
- 1397 The Gallican church, in a council at Paris, renounced obedience to both pontiffs.
- 1398 Benedict detained a prisoner at Avignon, by order of Charles VI. king of France.
- 1400 Boniface IX. in Rome, and Benedict XIII. at Avignon. Both claimed the papal chair.
- 1404 Boniface died, and Innocent VII. elected. Gregory XII. succeeded Innocent.
- 1408 Benedict fled from Avignon to Catalonia, and thence to Perpignan.
- 1409 Sixteenth ecumenical council (at Pisa) to put an end to the schism. Popes Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. deposed, and Alexander V. elected. Three popes. The council decreed Benedict and Gregory guilty of heresy, perjury, and contumacy. Benedict held his council at Perpignan; Gregory one at Austria, near Aquileia.
- 1410 Alexander died and was succeeded by John XXIII., an abandoned and profligate wretch.
- 1414 Seventeenth ecumenical council (at Constance) to restore peace to the Church and to reform its abuses.
- 1415 The doctrines of Wickliffe condemned. Huss condemned and burned for contumacy. John and Benedict deposed. Gregory resigned. Martin V. elected by the council. The

wine withheld from the laity in the Lord's Supper. The supremacy of ecumenical councils over the popes solemnly decreed.

- 1416 Jerome of Prague condemned and burned.
- 1418 Lord Cobham suffered martyrdom in England.
- 1420 The Hussites took up arms in defense of religious rights.
- 1423 Benedict XIII. died, and Clement VIII. elected his successor.
Two popes on the throne.
- 1428 The bones of Wickliffe were dug up and publicly burned.
- 1429 The great schism of the West healed, by the resignation of
Clement, after 51 years.
- 1431 Eighteen ecumenical council (at Basle) to reform the Church;
and to reunite the Greek and Latin churches. It continued
until 1443.
- 1437 Eugenius IV. deposed by the council.
- 1438 A council assembled at Ferrara by Eugenius, and adjourned
to Florence in 1439.
- 1440 Council of Basle elected the duke of Savoy, pope or Felix
V. Two popes again.
- 1449 The schism healed by the resignation of Felix.
- 1450 Robt. Stephens divided the chapters of the Bible into verses.
- 1453 Constantinople taken by the Turks.
- 1457 The Society of the United Brethren.
- 1470 The Jubilee circle reduced to twenty-five years by Paul II.
The pope's mitre enriched by him with precious stones.
Cardinals assume scarlet gowns.
- 1487 Bull of Innocent VIII. against the Waldenses. A relentless
and cruel persecution commenced in the valleys of Pied-
mont and in the southern provinces of France.
- 1489 Court of Inquisition established in Pignerol.
- Wm. Farel, disciple of Lefevre Etaples, born in Dauphine.
- 1492 Roderic Borgia, or Alexander VI., elevated to the papal chair.
- 1494 Persecutions in Scotland, by Blackadder, arch-bishop of
Glasgow.

IN THE COMPILATION OF THE PRECEDING HISTORY THE
FOLLOWING AUTHORS WERE CONSULTED.

Dwight's Theology.

Lavoisne's Genealogical, Historical, Chronological and Geographical Atlas.

Charles Von Rotteck's General History of the World.

Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

Prideaux's Old and New Testament connected.

Hallam's View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages.

Daille's Treatise on the right use of the Fathers.

Jones' History of the Christian Church.

Calmet's Dictionary of the Holy Bible.

Brande's Encyclopædia of Science, Literature and Art.

Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, translated by Archibald Mac-laine.

Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge. Edited by Rev. J. N. Brown.

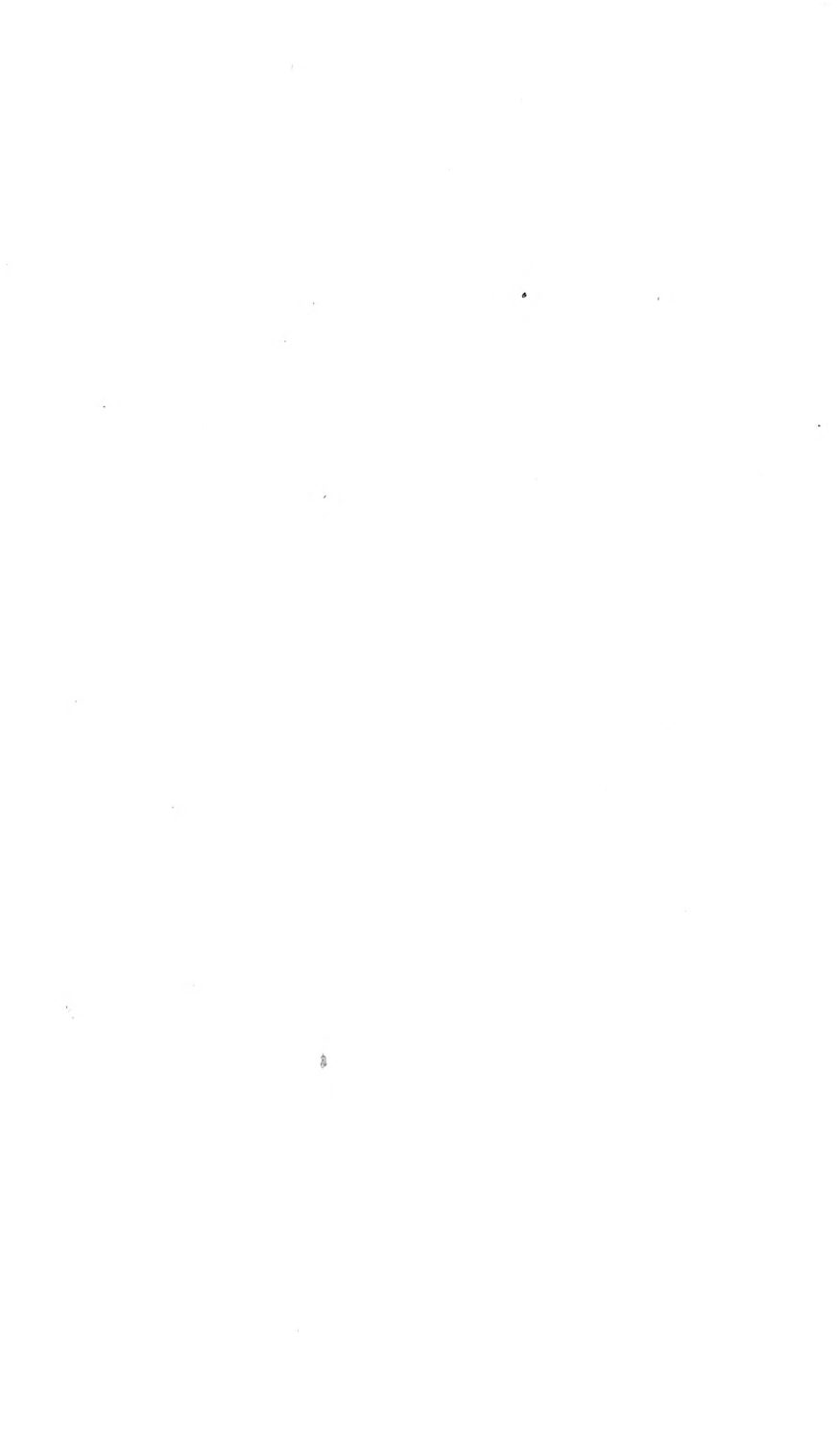
William Cave's Lives of the Apostles.

Samuel Miller's Primitive and Apostolic Order of the Church of Christ.

Lectures on the points in Controversy between Romanists and Protestants.

B. White's Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism.

NOTE.—In the history of the papal succession I have adhered with strictness to Mosheim, as my faithful authority; and from Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, I have for the most part drawn my statements respecting the Novatians and Paulicians. Daille, on the right use of the Fathers, has been my guide in my references to the character of the ecclesiastical writers of the early centuries.



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